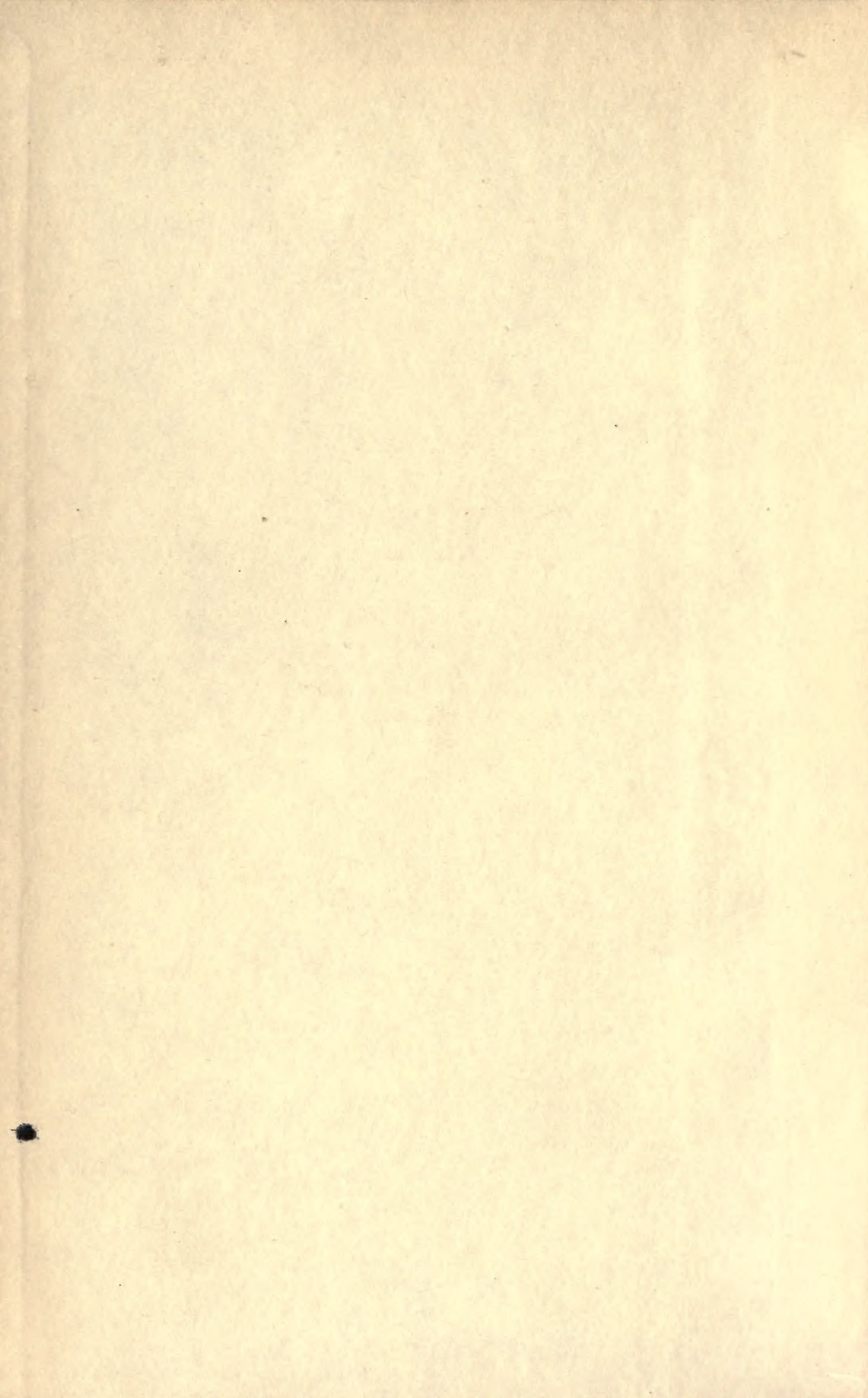


UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

10652

10652

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS IV

PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 26—OCTOBER 26, 1909



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

1909

129029
6/8/13



THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOURTEENTH MEETING	5
DR. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE AND HARVARD UNIVERSITY	5
ADDRESS: WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE	5
JOURNAL OF BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE	22
ADDRESS: WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	22
 FIFTEENTH MEETING. CELEBRATION OF THE HOLMES	
CENTENARY	38
OPENING REMARKS: RICHARD HENRY DANA	39
ADDRESS: THE CHAIRMAN, CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT	40
ADDRESS: THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON	42
ADDRESS: DAVID WILLIAMS CHEEVER	46
ADDRESS: EDWARD WALDO EMERSON	54
ADDRESS: SAMUEL MCHORD CROTHERS	63
 SIXTEENTH MEETING. FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.	69
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	69
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY	72
REPORT OF THE CURATOR	74
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	76
ELECTION OF OFFICERS	78
LAWRENCE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL	79
ADDRESS: STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES	79
LETTERS OF WILLARD PHILLIPS TO OCTAVIUS PICKERING	86
JOURNAL OF ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY	90
LETTER OF EDWARD EVERETT HALE TO GEORGE J. ABBOT	92
 GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	94
 OFFICERS	99
 COMMITTEES	100

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
MEMBERS	101
REGULAR	101
ASSOCIATE	104
HONORARY	104
BY-LAWS	105

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE FOURTEENTH MEETING

THE FOURTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-sixth day of January, nineteen hundred and nine, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, ESQUIRE, was elected Chairman pro tempore.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The second Vice-President, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, then being present, took the chair.

Upon the subject for the meeting — Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse — WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE read the following paper :

DR. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE AND HARVARD UNIVERSITY

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: To follow up all the details of Dr. Waterhouse's connection with the College would take us far afield, and would acquaint us with a series of more or less acrimonious discussions which have left their traces in the records and the papers of the Corporation, but are not worth reviving at the present day; yet the main facts of his service

here are both interesting and important, for he was closely associated with much that now occupies a large place in the intellectual life of the University.

In 1783, he and two other physicians became the incumbents of the three newly established medical professorships — the first formal provision for public instruction in medicine in Massachusetts. Dr. John Warren, the first to be appointed, was Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; Dr. Waterhouse's appointment as Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic followed in the course of a month; and that of Dr. Aaron Dexter as Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica came shortly after. The first two were publicly inducted into their offices October 7, 1783.¹ Dr. Waterhouse, at this time, had just returned from his European studies, having graduated from the University of Leyden in 1780. "Without doubt he was the young man of learning then available for the place, just the man to quicken students with a love for science and a desire for general knowledge."² Though the proper subject of his professorship was the theory and practice of physic, he began, in 1788, the year after he removed to Cambridge, to give annual courses of lectures in the College on natural history in general and on mineralogy and botany in particular. These lectures, delivered first (1786 and 1787) in Brown University (or Rhode Island College, as it was then called) and afterwards for over twenty years in Cambridge, appear to have been the first ever given in America on these subjects, and so mark the beginning of the study here of natural science, a study which has since developed into such a highly organized and extensive province of university instruction. His correspondence with scientists abroad led to the acquisition of minerals and the formation of a mineral cabinet, from which has grown one of the great departments of the University Museum. During the greater part of his term of office, Dr. Waterhouse was keeper of the mineral cabinet, and as such received the modest sum of \$40 a year. The nature of his duties as keeper of the cabinet is characteristically described in a letter from him to President Willard, dated March 8, 1801:³

¹ Dr. Waterhouse's *Oratio Inauguralis* was printed many years afterward, in 1829.

² The Harvard Medical School, 1782-1906, p. 117.

³ Harvard College Papers, vol. iv. no. 83.

REVEREND SIR suggestion

Agreeably to your intimation, "that the Corporation wished for some general information respecting the time consumed, and attention exercised in fulfilling their directions as expressed in their vote dated May 20th 1795 and a subsequent one dated I take this method to acquaint them, that in consequence of a very general circulation of the printed letter which accompanies this, a pretty numerous & pretty constant application to view the cabinet ensued. By pretty constant I mean seldom a week without some visitants. These are people who are engaged in the study of minerals, or in some interested mineralogical pursuits, and who come to take a close & critical view of the specimens; and in this they differ from the ordinary visitants to the Library & Museum. They never stay less than 3, or 4 hours; very often all day, and in some instances *three*, and my house is most commonly their quarters. I have attended six visitants within these ten days. The person principally concerned in the *Jodin-hill* mine used to call on me at least twice a week for two or three months often to view the specimens, but oftener to converse on the subject of mineralogy. When some of these visitants appeared embarrassed by the trouble they gave me, I have told them that the Governors of the University allowed me a compensation for it.

Agreeably to the wish of the Corporation I have kept up my correspondence abroad and extended it at home on the subject of minerals. Whenever I have found in the course of my mineralogical studies, a deficiency in the collection, I have immediately written to some of my correspondents in England for them, and when received have placed them in the Cabinet without saying a word to any one. This was the case with a collection of Salts from a friend at Chester, and of a box of minerals & petrefactions from Birmingham. It was two or three years before I could obtain a specimen of *Platina*. I have now sent for specimens of english *Marles*, when they arrive, I shall place them in the Cabinet without saying a word to any one, because it is too much like my own donation to wish for either notice or thanks. Thus, I have, do, and shall continue to contribute to the encrease of the collection.

Since I received an annual grant, I have never presented, nor mean to present any charge for any freight, custom-house fees or the like, altho' a week has not elapsed since I paid about three dollars for a book sent from England for the Library which had remained from the month of October in the Supervisor's office at New-York, as well as a trifling sum for the portorage of a box containing an artificial curiosity for the Museum. Ought I, or ought I not to add that the superb volume containing specimens of the recently discovered *Stamps*, was sent by Dr.

Lettsom in consequence of my writing expressly to him to send a copy of that elegant work for our University-library? He having sent me a similar copy the year before. May I add, that I wrote three or four years ago to the same gentleman for a *prepared* Quadruped and a Bird, by way of *sample*, and he sent me eighteen. I then, wrote to him, that they were injured in the passage for want of being properly packed when he sent me twice that number finely preserved. Whether they were sent to me personally, or to the University was equivocal. I therefore construed it the safest way and presented them as from him. Now every gentleman must suppose that I could not be the receiver, much less the solicitor of these valuable articles without exerting myself to make some return in the products of this country. I have never done so much as I could wish, but have done as much as I could, being convinced that in this, as well as in all other cases, "he that will reap, must sow."

I never have, nor ever shall keep an account of such expences. Indeed, my habits of life, & literary pursuits are adverse to anything like merchantile calculations. I can only say with precision, that for what I sent to an individual correspondent the last year I paid nearer 50, than 40 dollars. This I will venture to specify to some one of the corporation as a private gentleman, but delicacy would forbid me to do it to him, or them, in their official station, more especially when a proportion of the books are sent to me personally; and the corporation may be assured, that I mention these things with no small reluctance, and that I apprehend they come within, or rather among the objects of their inquiry. I give the information which I think is needed, but ask for nothing.

Were I a *Professor* of Nat^l History, and had of course a salary, these articles committed to my charge as well as the exhibition & explanation of them to strangers would be, like that of the Professor of Exp^l Philosophy, part of my duty. But the case is far otherwise with me. *I have created this branch of instruction, and carried it on for more than twelve years at my own expence* without attaching any charge to the University, and it is only within one year or two that the lectures have been profitable; for more than 8 years, they yielded not so much as the annual income of a college-sweeper, and nothing but the constant encouragement of that most excellent friend to the College the late *Dr. Wigglesworth*, and his prophetic assurances, that by perseverance, these lectures on Nat^l History would one day grow into a permanent establishment, have preserved them to this period of existence.

If from this general view of facts and circumstances the corporation

should think it just, or generous to continue the annual grant for taking charge of the cabinet, corresponding, &c &c, I think I may assure them that it will be, as it always has been, quite, or nearly absorbed in the expences of a correspondence, which they have encouraged and I hesitate not to assure them, that if from any accident, sickness or unusual occurrence my expences or attention, should be little or nothing, they will be informed of it, but I wish hereafter to be excused from giving in, from year to year any thing like an estimate, because it is somehow or other, very repugnant to the current of my feelings, and what I do with extreme reluctance.

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

Rev^d President Willard.

For many years, he gave his natural history lectures in the Philosophy Chamber, as the room in Harvard Hall adjoining the Library was called. In this room was kept the philosophical apparatus, and here the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Samuel Webber, afterward President, gave his lectures. The latter not unnaturally objected to the presence of the mineral cabinet, the stuffed birds, and the other impedimenta of the lecturer on natural history. But Dr. Waterhouse strenuously objected to being moved, and was never willing to occupy one of the rooms in Holden Chapel which had been devoted to the use of the Medical Professors.

On May 19, 1800, he writes to the President as follows:¹

REV^d SIR

Last autumn I received a line from you expressing the opinion of the Corporation respecting my continuing to lecture in the philosophy chamber, which induces me to address you on that subject.

I gave my lectures in that room for a series of years on the invitation of Mr. Smith, the then Librarian, and did not *at that time* know that it was necessary to ask leave of higher authority. During the seven years I gave my lectures there, no complaint had ever been made of soiling, deranging, or any way defacing the room; on the contrary the room has acquired an additional beauty in consequence of those lectures, for neither Birds, nor minerals would have been there had these lectures on Natural History never been given.

My application is for permission to continue my lectures in that room, and my reasons for it, are I presume strong enough to obtain it. In

¹ Harvard College Papers, vol. iv. no. 59.

the course of my lecturing it is necessary to have displayed a great number of minerals, and many of the specimens are so delicate & fragile that they cannot be removed up & down stairs without risking their destruction. Besides these minerals, delicate drawings, & costly books as well as valuable productions of nature must be exhibited in a room where the lecturer can *instantly turn the key and lock them up*, should he be called suddenly out in the course of his practice. On no occasion do I ever leave the students in the room. For my rule has ever been to go in first & come out last. I have been so carefull to keep the carpet neat & clean, that I always turn it up round the seats, & never give a lecture in rainy weather. The bordering of the paper, that has been picked off in some places was certainly never done by any of my audience. Their quiet, orderly & very proper behaviour are known & talked of — and if it be found that my pupils never did injure the room the presumption is they never will, unless I should break my rule of leaving them in it without me.

As I confess I felt a little hurt in being turned out of that room without a hearing, I cannot avoid wishing to inform the corporation that during the 18 years that I have been a Professor of the Theory & Practice of physic in this University, I never have been accomodated with a lecturing-room, but have been obliged repeatedly to quit my chair & dismiss my pupils in the middle of a lecture to give place to the stated teachers. I gave one whole course in a Tutor's room. In one, or two instances, I have been compelled to the derogatory step of giving my *medical lectures* in the room of an undergraduate; and for these three years past, I have been forced to give my *medical lectures* at my own house, altho' very inconvenient on account of the smallness of our rooms & the largeness of my family.

I will, however, cheerfully submit to this inconvenience, great as it is, provided the corporation will give me their permission to make use of the philosophy chamber, during *eighteen hours in twelve months*, pledging myself at the same time that every thing shall be preserved free from dirt, destruction or defacement. It has been suggested that I could give my lectures on N. History in the chapel, or dining hall, *both are absolutely unfit*; besides I wish to be indulged with a room, out of which I may not be turned by any Professor, Tutor, the Librarian or cook.

If you would be so good as to lay this request before the corporation, it would add to the kindnesses already conferred on

your very humble serv^t

BENJⁿ WATERHOUSE

Rev^d President Willard.

In 1805, various friends of the College subscribed to the foundation of a professorship of natural history, the first incumbent of which was to be elected by the subscribers. This proposal was bitterly opposed by Dr. Waterhouse, who felt that this department of instruction had been fostered and developed during many years by himself alone, and that another should not be allowed to displace him. He submitted a Memorial to the Corporation March 1, 1805, the first portion of which is worth quoting, since it states the results of his labors up to that time:¹

“The Memorial of Benjamin Waterhouse, Teacher of Natural History in the University at Cambridge to the Hon^{bl}. & Rev^d. the Corporation, most respectfully sheweth,

“That your memorialist was 17 years ago appointed to deliver annually a course of Lectures on Natural history in this college, as expressed by a vote of the Corporation here annexed, which vote was confirmed by the board of Overseers the May following.

“Thus constituted a teacher of Nat^l. History, your memorialist prepared a set of Lectures on that extensive subject. In executing this task he carefully selected such objects as would most forcibly impress the minds of youth with the harmony of the Universe, or unity of design throughout the great Temple of creation; the end & aim of the whole being to lead them ‘*to look through Nature up to Nature’s God.*’

“During the greatest part of the space above mentioned, your memorialist struggled with such difficulties, impediments, and discouragements as would have entirely checked anyone who was not animated with the ambitious sentiment of being considered hereafter the *Founder* of Nat^l. History in the first University in America.

“As Nat. History was an entirely new study in this College, your memorialist was compelled to exercise some address at its introduction. The College library was nearly barren of books on this subject; and what few there were appeared never to have been perused. Your Memorialist had first to excite a curiosity and then to gratify it. He had to prepare the ground, sow the seed & wait their produce. In this infantile state of things he had often to treat important subjects superficially, and to grow more particular as attention & taste encreased.

“Your memorialist commenced the business in the autumn of 1788 by giving his first course gratis. The 2^d year he opened his course with five pupils at a guinea a piece. The 3^d year he had seven. The

¹ Harvard College Papers, vol. iv. no. 220.

4th year he allowed each to subscribe whatever he chose; then he had about thirty, some subscribed three guineas, some two, and some half a guinea; others clubb'd together and divided the half guinea & the lectures between them, one attending one half the course, the other the remaining part. The President disapproving this mode, as deviating from the fee established by the Corporation, it never was again pursued. It was an effort in discouragement; for as yet your memorialist had never received a farthing of salary as a medical professor. Once, in a day of greater difficulty and perplexity than he ever before experienced, he sunk under the discouragement, and felt entirely disposed to relinquish a *second time* all connexion with Harvard College. This would have been effected had it not been for the encouragement of the venerable Dr. Wigglesworth. '*Persevere*, said he, *and you will find a reward. Pursue your plan of Natural history, BOTANY especially, which will not fail to raise up friends and supporters. On this subject I will venture to prophecy; it will grow into an establishment.*' On this gleam of encouragement he resumed his task with a degree of alacrity, and on the former plan of a guinea each pupil, his numbers were, if he remember right, ten. The 6th year the numbers were about the same. The 8th year they were nineteen. The 9th year forty one; the 10th year about the same number; and the 11th year I had *sixty six*, including some indigent youth, who pay nothing.

"At this period difficulties were raised through the medium of the late Librarian, respecting giving lectures on Nat^l History in the philosophy chamber, when your memorialist was ejected from it *without a hearing*. This ejectment materially effected the profits of his course of lectures, by altering the time of his lecturing from autumn to the busy season of spring; and has in every succeeding year reduced the number of his pupils one half. Your memorialist has never been indulged with any opportunity of representing this matter to the Corporation. This with some other matters connected with it, have been sources whence continually flowed uneasiness & discontent. Your memorialist was considered by some as an adventitious Lecturer without rights, rank, or privileges.

"Your memorialist begs leave to remark that he was the originator of the CABINET OF MINERALS; and has been for more than *thirteen* years the principal agent in collecting the specimens therein contained; which for number and value surpass anything of the kind in the United States. By the help of this collection a competent naturalist may illustrate *one of the three Kingdoms of Nature*. This rich collection is not like that of books, or plants perishable by time, but will remain unimpaired for ages.

"Your memorialist has likewise collected some curious and valuable articles in other branches of Nat^l History, which he gratuitously transferred from his own private musæum to that of the College; the particulars of which he has detailed to that member of the Corporation who resides in Cambridge.

"Beside mineralogy your memorialist has sedulously cultivated 'philosophical Botany'; or the anatomy and physiology of vegetables, together with the elements of agriculture and vegetation; and this he presumes he has carried as far as his slender pecuniary means & other requisites could reasonably be expected. As his plan differs from that of any hitherto made public, he has chosen to submit it to the severity of public criticism. Your memorialist has collected no small number of indigenous plants & made & procured not a few drawings illustrative of the *Linneæan System*. In a word he has strove beyond his strength to introduce and build up the science of Nat^l History in general in the University at Cambridge; but finding his strength failing, discouragements multiplying, and innovations approaching, he naturally turns to his constituents for protection & encouragement."

He goes on to beg the Corporation not to allow his work to be interfered with by the establishment of the proposed Professorship, of which he has only learned by hearsay, and the statutes governing which have never been submitted to him.

At about the same time, he wrote to Judge Davis, a member of the Corporation (February 15, 1805):¹

"I feel free to say that this affair is a very important one to me. 'Tis a crisis, or turning point in my life, influencing my domestic plans & future prospects; as on the termination of this design, the education of my four sons, or in other words my connexion with Harvard College depends; since I had determined, if this hitherto concealed scheme, when developed, should be found to interfere with my reputation or interest, to publish in a pamphlet a narrative of all my exertions, in founding, maturing & bringing forward, Natural history in general, & *Botany* in particular, then to quit the ground, go into Boston there to give my lectures & to attempt practice, in which idea I have been encouraged by characters of no small influence in society.

"I disavow any design or desire to marr or impede any beneficial plan. I explicitly declare that envy has no place in my composition;

¹ Harvard College Papers, vol. iv. no. 218.

but I should be divested of the ordinary feelings of humanity, nay I should be '*worse than a heathen*,' were I totally insensible to some past and present transactions, in which my character & interest are concerned. After labouring *seventeen* years in establishing a new branch of science in this place, and having ALONE, and UNASSISTED brought it to a degree of maturity, then to have another person brought forward to take the most conspicuous & captivating part of it, with the title of *Professor*, while I remain with the humble title of *Lecturer*, giving lectures to boys at *25 cents* each lecture, is what a man of Judge Davis knowledge of men & things can never suppose I will submit to. My friends would dispise me if I did, and they ought to."

When the Corporation submitted to him the statutes of the professorship, and assured him it was to be a professorship specifically of botany and entomology, he withdrew his objections, but although this title was in fact used in several votes of the Corporation, it was soon displaced by the original and more comprehensive designation.

One of the objects of the new fund was to found a Botanic Garden, and in this Dr. Waterhouse was actively interested. Indeed, his own lectures on Botany, repeated from year to year, doubtless had had their part in exciting a general interest in the project, so that we may truly say that the establishment of the Botanic Garden was, in part, due to Dr. Waterhouse.¹

For four years Dr. Waterhouse continued his lectures on natural history, but on April 27, 1809, we find this vote in the Records of the Corporation:

"Whereas when there was no Professor of Natural History in Harvard College to instruct the Pupils in any branch of Natural History the Corporation on the 29. April 1788 authorized Dr. Waterhouse to deliver annually a course of Lectures upon Natural History to such of the students as should obtain permission under the hands of their Parents or guardians to attend, since that time a Professorship of Natural History has been founded at Cambridge & Professor elected & introduced into that office capable of reading Lectures in every branch of Natural History who has already been directed to read Lectures on

¹ See the "Advertisement" of his book, "*The Botanist*," published in 1811.

Botany, Entomology & Zoology and who may read Lectures in such other branches of Natural History as may be directed agreeably to the foundation, as it is inconvenient & improper that Lectures in the Natural History be read by two distinct professors, therefore it is

“ Voted that hereafter no Lectures in Natural History be read in the College or to any of the Students but by the Professor of Natural History. But as the Corporation has learnt that Dr. Waterhouse has already began his annual course of Lectures for the present year it is further voted that he may finish the said course agreeably to the terms of the said vote passed in 1788, and that after his present course is finished to wit from & after the last Wednesday in August next the said vote be rescinded and made null & void.”

A characteristic letter from Dr. Waterhouse to his friend, John Quincy Adams, for whom he entertained a sincere regard and who was shortly after to be installed as the first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, is found among the papers of Professor Pearson, now in the possession of Phillips Academy, Andover. It is dated March 30, 1806, just after the election of Samuel Webber as president and before his inauguration. Professor Pearson had been for twenty years Hancock Professor of Hebrew, six years a member of the Corporation, and after President Willard's death, September 25, 1804, for more than a year, Acting President. A theologian of the old school, he gave up all hope of saving the College from the advancing tide of Unitarianism when Henry Ware was elected Professor of Theology, and retired to Andover, where he soon after was instrumental in founding the Andover Theological Seminary as a protest against the defection of Harvard.

The letter is as follows :

CAMBRIDGE, March 30th, 1806.

DEAR SIR, —

In the last letter which I wrote to you, I was pleasing myself that we should have a President, that would break the scum, the thick scum which has covered our collegiate pool. Although Mr. Ames is not so profound a scholar nor so truly scientific as some others of the sons of Harvard, yet I hoped & believed that his brilliant talents would give science a more pleasing countenance than she has lately borne here. His declining set us once more afloat. All of us on the ground would have been well contented with Dr. Pearson, but, our Rulers in

Boston, not to say *Essex*, uttered their *veto*; and to give it due force they talked him down; and talked their man, Dr. K—— up; but the Corporation were disobedient & would not chuse him. What did they do next? They chose a man, whom no one ever thought of; a sort of negative character; a man without friends or enemies; a man as ignorant of the world as if he had never been born into it; a mere mathematician; to which branch of science he is a bigot; a man who thinks that all the rest of the world are busy about trifles, mathematicians excepted! The Corporation have been censured not a little for this choice; and their excuse is, that in these times of innovation, it is best to keep the College ship in Dock, and not suffer her to venture near an enemy; that they studied safety rather than risk a voyage of discovery: If these reasons be admitted why did they chuse Fisher Ames? The truth of the matter is, they did as has been done more than once in the Roman conclave, disappoint all the fierce contending princes & intriguing courts by chusing a good but obscure monk, who had neither power or inclination to do good or harm. What has been the consequence of this surprising election? The consequence has been the banishment of Dr. Pearson. He retires to a small house in Andover with very little to live on, after being 18 years in the service of college. It avails him nothing that he has enriched the college treasury, as it is said, 30,000 dollars. He is suffered to go off with as little feelings of compassion as some people turn off an old, sick decrepit cart-horse. Dr. P. had his notions, and labored to fortify them, yet was he a respectable man, a good scholar, and a faithful teacher. They accuse him of being at times passionate & cross. I never knew a good & faithful officer but what was. Who can have much to do with men, and with mens children, especially in controuling and correcting them and preserve a placid temper? But the man placed at the head of this great school, for it is but a school, never was known to be out of temper, say his advocates; — if so, say others, he will never make a good & energetic officer. Such is the state of things at this time, in this place, and such are the feelings of all I have yet conversed with in the college instruction & government, one person excepted, who says nothing.

Under these circumstances I have taken the resolution to stay at home & say nothing; but follow my medical & natural history lectures, & attend, as much as I can to the education of my children myself. I could not however keep my silence towards you, because I know that you feel a particular interest in the present & future state of this seminary, and because I supposed that you would like to know how we stood affected in this place, under our new arrangement; and I knew

that what I said to you would never be mentioned to the injury of any mans feelings. With the highest degree of respect and esteem I remain your steady friend

BENJ^r WATERHOUSE.

The later years of Dr. Waterhouse's professorship were stormy ones and attended with many mortifying experiences in his relations with the College. In 1807, the Corporation, becoming dissatisfied with his care of the mineral cabinet, appointed the President and Judge Davis a Committee to examine it and report whether all the specimens were to be found and in order. The Committee professed to be unable to find many of the specimens, and demanded them of the Professor, who replied with indignation. In 1809, he was "discharged from any further care of the Cabinet." He had never been on good terms with his fellow professors on the Medical Faculty, yet complained that they did not consult him in regard to measures contemplated relating to the school. In 1810, the lectures were moved from Cambridge to Boston, and Dr. Waterhouse was obliged, much against his will, to take up his residence in Boston, though he seems never to have given up his Cambridge house. March 29, 1811, he writes to President Kirkland, who had then been president just four months:¹

DEAR SIR,

I receiv^d your letter with pleasure & read it with satisfaction, because I thought I perceived in it something inducing me to believe that you and I could do business together harmoniously. Nay I deem it impossible that any thing like that acrimony which broke out between me & some of the college legislators can arise between us; for I never can charge you with personal ingratitude.

Instead of twelve Lectures, I should like to give 18, or 20. I must as you intimated adapt them to my audience, which will cost me some labour. I wish however to give at least four this term. Perhaps two in a week, and if you can so arrange it, at 9, or 10 o'clock. Thirty or thirty five minutes each time would be all I wish for. Circumstances do not, at present allow of it. Perhaps your removal from Boston to Cambridge, may give you some idea of the state of my mind in removing from Cambridge to Boston. It is like two opposite streams that forms a whirlpool in which nothing advances. My sleep, my perspira-

¹ Harvard College Papers, vol. vi. p. 80.

tion & my appetite are deranged and every day or two I am afflicted with a dismal sick headache, by which that day is wasted; and this will continue, I expect more or less until I get fixed in Boston.

I find it is expected of me that I give to the Committee of the Board of Overseers an accurate statement of the injury I have sustained in my income, by the alterations that have been made in my lecturing in this place. In order to do this properly as it regards my medical lectures I beg leave to ask of you some information, for really I do not understand what I have read, and what comes to me by report from some of the senior class. I ask this information in the two fold capacity of a professor & a parent.

I learnt from the votes of the Corporation that we three professors were to give our lectures to the senior class *gratis*. This I told to several who enquired of me.

By the late vote I learnt that instead of it, the Seniors who attended were to be assessed 10 dollars each in their Q^r. bills. I now hear that the Prof^r of Anatomy has obtained from about 30 undergraduates a subscription of 15 dollars each for that course which these young men expected and had a right to expect from what had been said to them, *gratis*, or at most for their 10 dollars assessment, which makes up the 25 dollars which that Prof^r. has for those students who attend him from abroad. Now I wish to enquire as a *parent*, whose son is to pursue medicine as a profession, if I am to be charged 10 dollars in the Q^r. bill, and then pay Dr Warren 15 dollars more for his attendance on the course. If this be the case I have two objections to it. First as a *professor* I deem it a thing that will injure the character of our medical school, for the public will pronounce it unjust, because the expences of a subject &c is very trifling. Second as a *parent*, I declare to you that I cannot afford it; for almost every *Lacteal* by which I & my family drew nutriment from college has been cut off; insomuch as I have been obliged as Judge Wendell & Dr Holmes know, to take my two sons from Andover, because I could not afford to keep them there, nor to bring them up to college, and because I have been compelled to borrow money to pay the college dues of that son who graduated last year. Before that period my income from my natural history lectures not only paid my sons bills, but procured me my *wood*, my *hay*, & my *cyder*. Mr Gannet can confirm this. Now I am indebted to the college treasury for wood and am paying interest for it, while the Corporation keep from me my compensation as Cabinet-keeper for about 8, or 9 months, & for my extra labour in three times arranging by their order the Cabinet, and which I presume will over ballance what I owe the Treasurer.

The Corporation also withhold the payment of a bill, which *I think* they are bound in honor to discharge, due to David Frost, & which I expect to be sued for every day, the particulars of which I mean to give to the committee of the overseers, because my character has been cruelly handled in its discussion by the late Treasurer & Judge Davis, & which has been the subject of coarse remarks by the mechanics of Cambridge for a year or two past, not very respectful to college.

I applaud honest Pickering for his bold appeal to the public, and shall follow his courageous example; but hope to do it in a less angry spirit. This wretched scrawl ought to be transcribed, but the headache forbids, and leaves me only to add sentiments of respect to you officially & personally

B. WATERHOUSE

By the fall of this year, the other Medical professors had become so estranged from him and so exasperated in their feelings, that they presented a memorial to the Corporation (November 18, 1811), stating particulars in the conduct of Dr. Waterhouse which forbade their further intercourse with him. We cannot undertake to discuss the question how far their statements were justified, but they charged the Doctor (1) with having supported the design for a College of Physicians in Boston which would be injurious to the Harvard Medical School; (2) that "he evinced a want of veracity" in stating that he had no knowledge of the plan for extending the Medical School to Boston, and that he knew nothing in advance of two circular letters issued by his colleagues; (3) that he had printed in the "New England Palladium," May 3, 1811, a libel against the Professor and Adjunct Professor of Anatomy, "which had a tendency to injure their characters, was of a nature to be highly offensive to their feelings, and to diminish their usefulness in the University, and that later, in another article, he charged the other professors with a neglect of their official duties."

A copy of the memorial was sent to Dr. Waterhouse, and he was asked to attend at a meeting of the Corporation and face his accusers. His letter to President Kirkland, November 28, 1811, is in part as follows:¹

"I beg you, Reverend Sir, to be assured that my not answering your letter of last Saturday, enclosing that to the Corporation from the Medi-

¹ Harvard College Papers, vol. vii. p. 5.

cal Professors & their Adjuncts, did not arise from inattention or disrespect; but from a very different sentiment. It has so fallen out, in the course of the administration of your Predecessor, that I have, in one or two cases, answered some communications with full as much indignation as prudence. His lamented death dissipated everything like resentment, and has led me to form for myself a rule never to answer off hand, and on the first impression any communication having the complexion of the denunciating letter of my colleagues. I therefore, after reading the letter to my wife & my children; and after having shewn it to several friends out of doors, have taken up my pen to acknowledge the receipt of it from you, and to say that I will attend at the time & place prescribed.

“Two of the three charges appear not to be worthy my notice, or any one’s else: but one of them is sufficiently serious to excite all my attention, and the attention of my friends, & the attention of the College Legislature.

“Scarcely a week has elapsed since I cleared myself from the imputation of *peculation* & other acts of dishonesty in the administration of the affairs of a public hospital when I find myself accused before the Corporation of being a LIAR. The Medical students here in Boston have already got hold of the story, and they are told that it will be only throwing away money to attend my course of lectures for that the Corporation are now in the act of removing me from a station which I disgrace. This and a *great deal more* has already reached the ears of *all* my family.”

Referring to the case of a Frenchman who had some years before been in the service of the College and had been finally dismissed — “driven from College & from this country by the indignant voice of public opinion, and not by the intrigues of *professional Rivals*,” he continues:

“Now I, who have been a Professor in your College nearly 30 years, & have still a few friends left who are not ashamed to own me, ask of the Hon^b & Rev^d. the Corporation no more tenderness, no more fellow-feeling, sympathy or exercise of patience towards me, and consideration for my family, than what was exercised towards this notoriously immoral Frenchman.”

The Corporation seems to have examined into the trouble with great care, and to have given all parties, and particularly Dr. Water-

house, every opportunity to be heard, but finally (May 14, 1812) resolved that, harmony and confidence being destroyed, "the interest and reputation of the University require that he [Dr. Waterhouse] be removed from the office of Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic," and it was voted that Dr. Waterhouse be and he is hereby removed from said professorship.

In spite of the peculiarities of temperament and perhaps the animosities of politics which seem to have made it impossible for Dr. Waterhouse and his colleagues to work together in harmony, we must not forget his good qualities and his valuable services to the College. Dr. Holmes describes him as a "brisk dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind and, I think, powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity and an utterance of oracular gravity." It is pleasant to find in the recently published volume on the Harvard Medical School this paragraph in its account of Dr. Waterhouse:¹

"Rather than the pompous old gentleman of Dr. Holmes' remembrance, let us think of Dr. Waterhouse as the enthusiastic student of science, striving in far-distant America to keep in touch with the best that was taking place in the centers of European learning, vigorous and practical in his ability to seize upon the medical event of the period, strong in the denunciation of existing evils, and with a breadth of mind that prepared the way for the advent of Gray and Agassiz."

Another letter, now in the Andover Pearson papers, also addressed to John Quincy Adams, must be our last glimpse of the irascible but warm-hearted doctor. It is undated, but being addressed to "Pres^t Adams," cannot be earlier than March, 1825, and from the allusions in it cannot be much later than that.

"I close with a word or two on this University — Dr. Pearson told me some years ago, that his father-in-law, President Holyoke, said to him, on his deathbed — 'if any man wishes to be humbled and mortified, let him become President of Harvard-college,' w^c, said the Dr., I then thought a very strange speech; but I now perceive the wisdom of it; for Pearson retired from it in utter disgust. Webber lost his life by it; and I do not believe that the chair, even now, feels, at all times, as if

¹ The Harvard Medical School, 1782-1906, p. 19.

stuffed with eider-down. Pearson predicted to me, & to others, that the ingrafting the botanical & natural history professorship on the University would operate the destruction of the institution. I every day see his prediction verifying. Two of their ablest teachers,¹ men who have studied & travelled in Europe have recently left them, & are about establishing a seminary for the instruction of lads, near Northampton. The Amherst college has lost, by sudden death, its Calvinistic President² but the institution is progressing, while 40 young men of spirit have left Harvard filled with resentment. The establishment is in no small distress for money, owing principally to following the advice of some of the very wisest men that ever trod the soil of Essex, who persuaded them to sell out their 6 pr. cent stock when it was down to 85! This was all owing to political blindness, & clerical ignorance. It is said, & I believe it, that the funds of the Natural history professorship is nearly all consumed wasted without honor or profit. If so, I think the history of Ahab, Naboth & Jezabel is about finished. If this be a true state of things, they have the bitter reflection, that it is all owing to the advice of *one* man, who accepted a seat in the Corporation on the express condition of *doing as he had a mind to*. I heartily wish the prosperity of this noble institution; but I am convinced, that one generation, with its rancorous politics, must pass away, before this college, and its adjunct, the Academy of Arts & Sciences, will be placed on a safe, honorable & prosperous footing. I wish never to have any thing to do with them. I have no more sons to listen to their instructions; and I think so little of them, that I wonder how I came to say so much of their affairs; for assuredly they very rarely occupy the thoughts of your old Leyden Friend

BENJⁿ. WATERHOUSE.

Pres^t. Adams.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER read the following paper:

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When your Secretary was calling, one evening, I unwarily showed him this book, containing Dr. Waterhouse's Journal, and he asked me to

¹ Cogswell and Bancroft.

² Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, first president of Amherst College, 1821-1823.

read from it to the Society. It occurred to me then that by taking here and there passages, short or long, I might fill half an hour with the discourse of this venerable man, making it, so far as possible, a talk more or less garrulous, as if with the old gentleman himself.

Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was born at Newport, R. I., in 1754. His father, Timothy Waterhouse, came from Portsmouth, N. H.; his mother, Hannah Proud,¹ and his mother's family from Yorkshire, England. They had intended to settle in Philadelphia, but they sailed in the autumn and their ship was blown into Newport, and they, with others on board, stayed in Newport and liked the place. There he was born and brought up, attending the school founded by Bishop Berkeley. Redwood, one of the local magnates, befriended him, and he had medical instruction from Dr. Halliburton, who afterwards went to Nova Scotia, and was the father of "Sam Slick." Waterhouse was evidently a youth of great promise, and about 1774 he received an invitation from his mother's cousin, Dr. John Fothergill, of London, one of the most eminent physicians in England, to go over and pursue his medical course there. Young Waterhouse sailed out of Boston in April, 1775, in the ship *Thomas*, the last American vessel that slipped through before the English blockaded the port. In England Dr. Fothergill took him into his own house and was more than a father to him. This diary is full of the most beautiful tributes of affection and gratitude to Dr. Fothergill, who sent him to Edinburgh and then to Dublin, and finally wrote for him to come back to London. He spent, in all, three years in Great Britain. From there he went to Leyden, where was the foremost university in the world for medicine. There he passed, as nearly as I can make out, parts of four years, studying not only medicine but other subjects. While he was there John Adams and his son, John Quincy Adams, visited Leyden to try to persuade Holland to take the side of the Colonies in our Revolutionary War. During his vacations Waterhouse used to go on travels into Germany and up the Rhine. One summer he roamed the Dutch provinces inspecting prisons with Thomas Howard the philanthropist. Then he went to Paris, and fell in with Dr. Franklin, who took, apparently, a great fancy to him. From

¹ They were married in 1739.

Paris he journeyed down through France into Spain and took ship for the West Indies, but stopped off for two months at Teneriffe, where he climbed the mountain and studied botany. After reaching Cuba, — he was nearly drowned in the harbor of Havana, his ship tipped over, — he spent three months in the island, and got back to Newport in 1782, just at the close of the Revolution. He says somewhere in his Journal that when he signed his name on the college book at Leyden, he put down, "Benjamin Waterhouse, citizen of the free and independent United States," and that the college authorities wished to make him scratch that out. "But," he said, "that is what we are, and I will not."

When he reached Newport in the autumn of 1782, he was in doubt what to do, whether to stay there and pursue medicine or to go back to London, where Dr. Fothergill offered him a position. Dr. Fothergill's death shortly after decided him to stay in America; and then in the following spring he was invited by the Corporation of Harvard to come and be one of the first professors at the Medical School.

His quarrels at Harvard Mr. Lane has described. Exactly who was to blame I think no one now can decide, for it was a question of incompatibility. Dr. Waterhouse had a very irascible temperament. He was an outsider, coming from Newport; he was in competition with men who inherited, in a way, their Harvard position; and in a few years he fell out with them politically. He was a Democrat; they became Federalists — aristocrats, as he called them — so that his course was inevitably stormy. But so far as I can gather, he was the most many-sided man of his time in this country. If you trace the many great interests that go back to him, I think you are justified in saying that. Of course, his vital contribution to health in America, a contribution which every one of us in this room should be grateful for, was the introduction of vaccination. He had known Jenner in England, and as soon as Jenner sent him over news of his successful experiments in vaccination, Dr. Waterhouse vaccinated his own boy, Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, the first white person ever vaccinated in America, although the good people of Cambridge said it was equivalent to murdering his child. Then he vaccinated his other children, and they lived, and he was in correspondence with President Jefferson,

who had his negroes vaccinated at Monticello. It took seven years, the doctor says somewhere, to complete the introduction of vaccination; and now, he adds, "it is so universally adopted and has so completely put an end to the greatest pest that white society has ever had," [which is the fact,] "that if you see a person who has pock marks you may be sure he is a foreigner."

After his dismissal from the professorship at Harvard in 1812, the war came on, and Dr. Waterhouse received an appointment from the government as a medical inspector; and in one form or another I think he held that office until about 1827 or 1828. Then he returned to Cambridge, moved back about that time into his old home, the Waterhouse house, and lived on there until 1846. He died at ninety-two.

The earliest date in this diary, which has been chopped up — I don't know by whom, many pages have been ruthlessly taken out — is 1828. Then there is a jump until 1833. It is a journal in which he jots down his reminiscences, the events of the day, reflections and memoranda, and I have tried to pick out for to-night some of the Cambridge items which I thought might interest you, and also a few passages relating to Harvard, and a few relating to Waterhouse himself.

March 5, 1836: "This is my birth-day, being born March 5, 1754. It is somewhat remarkable that [at] eighty-two years of age, I can write from five to six hours a day, and go up and down stairs almost as quickly as ever, and sleep from six to seven hours, and have no other pain or aches, but now and then in my left foot. [Then he says:] The snow and thick solid ice still remains, and cubes of ice from 'Fresh Pond' incessantly, from before day-light to after sunset, pass in six-horse teams without an interval of half an hour. Numerous and huge wooden buildings are run up in Charlestown to be ready to be shipped off for the Southern States, even to Louisiana, the Bay of Mexico, the West India Islands and the East Indies! The quantity shipped is incredible, as there is as yet no tax upon it, the profit immense, compared with our laborious brickmakers. Besides this, which passes in front of my house, there are three other avenues to Boston through which this luxury is passing in quantities absolutely incredible. . . . The cubes being from 12 to 18 inches square incur but little diminution in the Dog-days."

I would say that the rhetoric of this Journal has never been corrected, so that there are many lapses. Dr. Waterhouse leaves out words here and there, and he says somewhere, "One of the few signs of old age I find is that I forget how to spell." In my extracts I have not transcribed *literatim*, but have tried to give what the Doctor meant to write.

This is a description of the little old home at No. 7 Waterhouse Street:

"When I look back on the past year [1835], I have to pronounce it not an unpleasant one. I have returned to my own pleasant house, to the centre of Cambridge where my six children were born, only two of whom are now living. . . . Within a few minutes walk of our spacious Library, and within more and less of four places of worship, the handsome enclosed Common or College-green in front, and about eight acres of good land in the rear. I have been enabled to raise every domestic vegetable from under the surface of the ground and above it for my table, and grain for a pair of horses and some domestic animals."

Some of the most interesting passages refer to the books he is reading. March 15, 1836, he is busy with the reprint of an essay on Napoleon Bonaparte, "written by the Rev. William Ellery Channing, son of William Channing, Esquire, late of Newport, R. I., and grandson of the Hon. William Ellery, an old and intimate friend of my Father. The Rev. Dr. Channing is a man of respectable standing for his learning, but not too diffident in his opinions. Throughout my defence of Bonaparte I never named Channing, although all knew whom I meant." Among the Doctor's favorites was Bonaparte. He also wrote a book on Junius which he thought would immortalize his name. In it he proved that Lord Chatham was Junius.

"My animadversions had the effect I contemplated," he continues, concerning Channing's Essay, "but never any personal difference or any diminution of apparent personal respect, so that we both spoke our opposite opinions of the greatest man of the age without destroying [our] mutual respect. To my surprise, however, the Rev. Dr. has republished his Review of Napoleon and encomium of Sir Walter Scott's Life of him, which determined me to prepare my new paper numbers for publication in a volume. . . . Channing is a respectable man, of a forward dis-

position, and his zeal sometimes overbalances his knowledge, as in the case of Napoleon ten years ago, and the *Slavery question* recently. What he says of slavery, in the abstract, coincides with my own judgment, but if pushed, *at this time*, may lay our Southern brethren under great embarrassments and cover their towns in blood and ashes. They in one sense exist by the Christian forbearance of New England spirit."

May 1, 1836. "Pleasant weather; thermometer at 66. Went to meeting. The Rev^d Wm. Newell preached an excellent sermon replete with good sense, sound morals and piety, and an improved delivery, but the few lines suggested to him from Pope's Messiah was a passage rather beyond his powers as yet. . . . It is to be lamented that our students of divinity in this University neglect so much pulpit oratory and the art of reading a Psalm or hymn properly. Mr. Newell is so good a young man, and so well-disposed that I have taken some pains to improve him in pronunciation, or rather enunciation, or what Demosthenes called '*Action*.' How stale, flat and unprofitable are some of the finest passages in the Bible for want of a proper delivery!"

Then here is an account of the two hundredth anniversary of Harvard. It was for that anniversary, as you remember, that Dr. Gilman wrote "Fair Harvard."

9th September, 1836. "Yesterday was celebrated in this place the second centennial or 200th year from the foundation of the college — a brilliant and imposing festival, whether we consider the great numbers present or the oral performances. A huge tent or pavilion containing 1200 people, where the alumni dined. I never saw so long a civic procession. The illuminations at night were beautiful and without any disagreeable accident. President Quincy in an address of two hours did not fatigue his audience. Everything was well arranged and fortunately conducted. We may say of the whole — *O factum bene!* We may make one remark that none of the present day will not wonder at: the toasts and extemporaneous speeches were all complimentary & flattering, and all calculated to please, or rather to hurt no one's feelings. It was all hail everybody, and during the whole I heard not a hiss from any goose or serpent whatever. Our fore-fathers were highly praised for their expressions of *liberality*, and no one even squeaked a malediction at any of their persecutions. They were all God's people, and therefore as good as Moses or Joshua or David or Solomon himself, — when not a mother's son was so free from vice, cruelty & injustice, as either of our Presidents, from Washington to Jackson inclusive." [This is by an

old man of over eighty, but still has a good deal of vigor.] "It appears from all quarters that the state of society and the love of loud methodical preaching far transcends the calm, rational style of our Boston Unitarians. Excitement is relished and called for; in other words, there must be a bell-wether to every flock, or the sheep 'will leap the walls and riot on the barren commons."

"April 6th, 1837. This is *Fast-day*, as appointed and proclaimed by the Governor [His Excellency Edward Everett]. It has been a custom from the first settlement of Massachusetts to appoint and proclaim a Day of Fasting and Prayer in the spring and of *Thanksgiving* in the autumn, and our forefathers kept them as solemn festivals, especially Fast-day. But with the exception of going to meeting forenoon and afternoon in the spring, with something like an apology for fasting, it has now been very little regarded. I am doubtful if even our minister keeps a fast, or any of his hearers. On the contrary there is more riding out from Boston of the young men than on any other day, — yet no entertainments or inviting of company. It is a welcome holiday to the printers of newspapers, shopkeepers, journeymen & apprentices. There is nothing in it like the fasts of the ancient Jews and the primitive Christians. As the proclamation of the Chief Magistrate seems to exhort us to be serious, so that for a Thanksgiving in the Autumn encourages the People to be joyful if not merry. It is a period of feasting in family circles, the social meeting of children and grand-children with their grandparents, and a feast of good things. The Governor's proclamation means to say — '*Be merry and wise.*'"

April 18, 1837. "Look into the newspapers of the day and every column is marked with the words 'money! money! money!' with notes of admiration, or rather, black marks!!! of gloom and distress, when in fact the country was never so full of money as during the latter end of Jackson's administration and the beginning of Van Buren's." [Jackson was one of his great admirations.]

May 16, 1837. "Bankruptcies daily occur, like the children's play with bricks, one brick knocking down the next one to it until the whole row is prostrate in one dismal scene of obliquity. I have foreseen this state of things seven years past. Merchants and traders have not only over-traded but over-lived with what would be called, in Great Britain, extravagant living, in luxurious tables, costly indulgence of children & number of domestics, and in horses and carriages, and above all, in rash and imprudent speculations. New York, that rich and extravagant city, now feels greater calamity than her destructive fire."

June 1, 1837. "This day I attended as usual the annual meeting on

Brattle Street, Boston, of the convention of Congregational Ministers, being the predominant religion of New England and of Connecticut. The sermon was by the Rev. Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., my son-in-law, he being Professor of Divinity in the Theological School in Cambridge. It was by far the largest assembly I have ever seen on this annual occasion. The discourse — malgré his illness, — for he rose from his bed to deliver it. I deprecated the risk & lamented the exposure; but H. Ware will die in the harness, and will never be allowed to roll. He, like John Quincy Adams, is called on without due consideration or mercy. Such is the fate of superior talents and high character as a man and Divine. The [emblem] of such an indefatigable man is a *Tree on fire* with the motto — ‘*While it enlightens others it consumes itself.*’ ”

June 4, 1837. “Died my valued and long-tried friend, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., Pastor of the First Congregational Society in this Town, and afterwards of the Second Church, aged seventy-three. When a majority of this church declared themselves to be in faith Unitarians, the learned and worthy Holmes avowed himself to be Orthodox, — that is, an advocate of the doctrines taught by John Calvin, somewhat modified, and therefore called a *liberal* Calvinist. His station was delicate, and offices at times unpleasant. He was inclined to be moderate & accommodating as far as a good conscience would allow. Finding he could not walk the middle path so as to please the majority, and at the same time satisfy his own conscience, he allowed the majority to chuse another minister, while he himself preached to his adherents in a new meeting-house, not far from the house he left. The infirmities of age came on him rather sooner than on most of his brethren; for Abiel Holmes was a hard student, and unremittingly faithful, and his relaxation from his ministerial duties was in writing history. His new society gave him a colleague, and they apparently laboured harmoniously, but after all it was not a garment without a seam. . . . Dr. Holmes received worse treatment from his Orthodox brethren than from the Unitarians who took the first steps to remove him. He had reason to pray — ‘Save me from my friends.’ When he preached in their new meeting-house, he was undermined by his false brethren. Deacon Wm. Hilliard, his putative friend, was the first person who spoke his discontent and the necessity of giving him a colleague. I thought it advisable, and a help his years and feeble health required; but I was averse to a high-toned Calvinist or a high-flown Unitarian. Holmes aimed at [being] a liberal but conscientious man, which he was. But he is dead, and has left behind a very respectable character. The Unitarians were his best friends. Abiel Holmes was really a righteous man. I feel grateful to him and to

his Father-in-law, Judge Wendell, for their steady friendship and noble stand when *my false brethren*, after working underground came out boldly to destroy me. I fought them three years; and though they effected [my downfall], as I always supposed they would, yet it was like Sampson when he pulled down the House which buried his enemies under the ruins."

This next quotation sounds as if it might have been written recently. Dr. Waterhouse has been speaking of his great indebtedness to Dr. Fothergill and his affection for Fothergill and also for Mr. Redwood of Newport, one of his earliest friends. He says (August 25, 1837):

"And as to Redwood, I have not only sounded his praises in my public discourses, but tried to erect a structure in imitation of the elegant Redwood Library in Newport, by our Law-school in Cambridge; but it is no more like that than I like Hercules. [This was old Dane Hall.] The genius of ugliness grinned horribly at the birth of every building belonging to Harvard College. Hitherto every one of their structures have been committee-spoilt. It is a mercy that the reverend and honorable sirs have not been able to disfigure the ground or alter the river. Cambridge is delightful in point of situation, soil, waters and healthy particulars, and happily placed for a large school. However, I am not disposed to carp or reflect on the present conductors of this Cambridge University. They never had a more liberal or faithful set of stewards. They had more learned Presidents than Josiah Quincy, but they never [had] a better one nor one so well qualified to manage to the best advantage that noble establishment. When their contemplated Library of granite¹ shall be completed, Mr. Quincy will probably retire from it, and will, if I mistake not, obtain the plaudit of 'good and faithful servant.'

"I admired his liberal conduct when President of the United States Andrew Jackson visited the University, and when in despite of a mean opposition, he publicly conferred the honor of LL.D. on the venerable and old soldier, and universally applauded chief magistrate of our nation. It was an untried and somewhat trying scene to the veteran general, yet he went through it without a boggle or the least embarrassment in the Academical ceremony as well as in the religious. When the hymn was sung, written by Judge Story for the occasion, in which a distant but handsome allusion was made to the hero, he noticed the civility in a

¹ Gore Hall.

manner that marked the man of sense and the gentleman. So when he was ushered into our splendid Library, where the splendid full-length picture of *John Adams, the elder*, filled a large [place] on the West end, and that of his son John Quincy Adams, he noticed them both with a gentlemanlike compliancy as the pride of Massachusetts, although it was well-known they were not the favorites of each other in their political views & feelings.

“ President Jackson said to me on that day at the house of President Quincy that he wanted words to express his feelings and his sense of the honors conferred on him that day by the learned men of Massachusetts. ‘ You certainly,’ said he, ‘ have all the means of a good education.’ I myself was particularly gratified that Jackson should see proofs in the Library that we had distinguished John Adams, both father and his son, by their spacious pictures, above all the sons of old Harvard. On Jackson’s return to Washington he said on all occasions that offered that he ever should bear in mind the honors of Massachusetts in general and of the University of Cambridge in particular. In all this view of things, I cannot but confess that Andrew Jackson, President of the U. S., is a very *extraordinary man*.”

“ This is the 9th of July, 1838, — extreme hot weather for Cambridge. All windows open day and night. Attended the club held at my son’s, Henry Ware, with great pleasure and satisfaction ; — a fine set of literary gentlemen ; — one or two absent that I did n’t regret. At this season its sitting was but a little over an hour. My next-door neighbor, Mr. Hodges, was my pilot there and home again.”

Mr. Hodges, as you know, was the father of Mrs. Swan, one of our members. Mrs. Swan wrote me the other day that she remembered very well Dr. Waterhouse as walking up and down the street in his dressing-gown. One other member of our Society, Colonel Higginson, I talked with, and he said that he remembered going there once to see the Doctor, taking a petition to have the trees planted on the Common. His mother wished the Doctor to be the first signer, and he did sign. There are two or three references to the Common which we may come upon presently.

Commencement, August 29, 1838. [This was the Commencement at which James Russell Lowell was graduated, and also Judge Charles Devens, and W. W. Story, the sculptor and poet.] “ Yesterday,” he writes on the 30th, “ was the annual Commencement of this Cambridge

University, and may perhaps be [my] last. I hesitated somewhat whether to attend. I only excused myself from the usual public dinner, not to take up the room and plate better disposed of to some stranger, — and, moreover, to be at liberty to invite some friends who may be uninvited by any one. As to the quantum of science and the comparative grade of it displayed, it seems rather higher than heretofore, or rather, it is more manlike, less attempts at wit, — and yet not surpassing what was exhibited last year at Providence. [He had gone down the year before to the Commencement at Brown University, and had a great ovation. That was the high-water mark for him.] Yet the stream rises as high as the source. We need a President as learned, as zealous, as industrious as Cotton Mather was in his day. My friend John, who called on me yesterday, would, I think, make as good a President as we could find. [I don't know who John was.] Governor Everett would not, I think, accept the office after being the chief magistrate. He is able, learned and discreet, and does himself and the state honor, — I hope the state may act up to such a pattern. . . . That great, and what is still more honorable, that *good man*, John Quincy Adams, amidst his multiplied cares and duties, did not omit his accustomed visit to me this 30th of August . . . P. B. K. day. I relished his friendly visit with manlike and child-like feelings. I was not only pleased but delighted with this evidence of his steady friendship, which commenced as long ago as 1779."

Then he gives a long account of the stories told by John Quincy Adams of the Hamilton-Burr difficulty and duel.

April 24, 1839. "A kind of *Laodicean* weather, neither warm nor cold, — not enough to render a fire pleasant, and yet too chilly to sit comfortably without it. The mercury in the open air outdoors — between 50° and 55°, — a kind of a damp-shirt sensation between one's shoulders, just so as to feel snappish without rising up to the manly dignity of being angry."

Here is a bit relating to local building:

April 25, 1839. "To my great satisfaction my son-in-law, the Rev. William Ware, informed me yesterday he had determined on the location whereon to build his house here in Cambridge, — not far from his father's [I think his father then lived down on Kirkland Street] and yet nearer his brother Henry, — yet almost within hail of our own; so that the fathers, the brethren and grandfathers, and grand-

mothers, uncles and aunts, if not within hailing distance, may be within *screaming* distance of both male and female, if not of Demosthenical facility."

Two of Dr. Waterhouse's intimates were the two most eminent painters that America produced down to the present day. The first was Gilbert Stuart, born at about the same time with him; they were boys together in Newport and then they went to London together. The other was Washington Allston, who graduated at Harvard in 1798. While in college he lived in the little Waterhouse house and he made a pastel of old Mrs. Waterhouse, the mother of the Doctor, when she was nearly ninety. This entry is dated May 3, 1839:

"Washington Allston, in some sense my *élève*, is now exhibiting his paintings in Boston; which, I apprehend, will add to his justly acquired reputation. I am sorry, however, to see in the newspapers laboured eulogiums on them. They speak for themselves and need no puffing by little trumpeters. He has considerably and properly sent us, as heretofore, tickets of admission."

June 27, 1839. "Pleasant weather; plentiful season. Went to see for the first time the giraffe, and relished the sight of that rare animal not a little."

Among his many innovations, because he was a come-outer, was his insistence on kindness to animals. He says, July 8, 1839:

"We have, however," speaking of some of the virtues of our New England people, — "we have, however, great room for improvement as regards treatment of our horses and other beasts of labor. This distinguished town of Cambridge exhibits even on the Sabbath painful instances of violent and unfeeling usage of sumptuary horses by the young men from Boston, while those of the college are free from the reproach. . . . I never countenanced my own children in shooting of birds or catching of fish with the insidious bait and hook for amusement. I have never failed to inculcate humanity to all that lives on my children."

As he gets older many of his entries here are in regard to the books that he is reading and comments on them. August 31, 1839, he writes:

"In Northcote's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds we have an account of the *Grand style*, which resembles or seems like looking into an intense

fiery furnace, all blazing with heat, smoke, soot and cinders, and a heap of ashes. What cannot be made intelligible to common sense, is very like that non-entity which the People call Nonsense. To get some notion of it, read the 50 last pages of the first volume of Northcote's Life of Reynolds."

August 31, 1839. "This has been the best commencement I ever attended. [The only surviving member of that class at Harvard is Dr. Edward Everett Hale.] The precocity of the youth surprised me; far beyond my own youthful day. To me they seem as if they stood in the advancement of our American world, and all this obtained without severity. On the contrary the friends of manly gratitude and self-respect."

September 7, 1839. "Delightful weather, and a set of farmerlike men working on the *Common*, with our neighbor Pomeroy at their head, who will do no more benefit than a host of such numskulls as have piddled on it for years past."

Then at one time there are fires everywhere in Boston, and he inveighs against our American neglect of fires. This bit gives a little picture of how fires started:

September 10, 1839. "We have destructive fires burning families out of house and home, but they are from carelessness, want of prudence and bad management, — hot ashes and coals of fire put by in a half-bushel, or some other dry vessel; Mr or Judge or Parson or Madam Wisdom catching their curtains on fire by reading after they get into bed, or some equally prudent procedure."

This leads him to compare our fire system with the Dutch and English.

In October, 1839, there was a great fair in Boston:

October 1, 1839. "The present great object of all the world, — i. e., Boston and Cambridge, is the novelty of a Fair, which the Bostonians have hardly yet learnt how to manage, or which end to take hold of first. The gentry or *choice spirits* are afraid to commit themselves by being too forward in a matter too plebeian for the first in rank to be over officious; and yet wish to lead, so that they may have a long and showy bobb to their kite; & so they stand still. It is an awkward thing to attempt to lead until you know that the People, that is the Plebeians, will follow. If Stephen Higginson had lived he might have shown us."

Here is a little item which seemed to me interesting:

October 4, 1839. "The history of the Lombardy poplar, a beautiful tree, introduced into Cambridge from Italy about sixty years ago by Dr. B. Waterhouse, and first reared in his garden at the north side of Cambridge Common, and which thrives now in America better than in France or Italy."

On March 5, 1840, his eighty-sixth birthday, he records this historical anecdote:

"My situation in the very pleasant town of Cambridge is inferior to none. In the far-famed County of Middlesex, scene of splendid deeds of and after our declaration of independence, when General Washington first drew his sword in its glorious cause in 1775. From the front windows of my study I take in a view of the whole ground, and I yet converse with some who conversed with that illustrious man when he took command here and began his glorious career. A sensible and very respectable Lady [Madam Wendell, daughter to Brigadier General Brattle, a Royalist and refugee from his country] gave me the following anecdote:

"When Boston was occupied by the British there was some firing across Charles River between the British and our militia, which much alarmed our women and frightened our children. General Washington occupied the largest and best house in Cambridge. Directly opposite resided a widow lady, Mrs. Wendell, above-mentioned, who was filled with apprehension at the firing of cannon and bombs now and then between the shore of Boston and Cambridge. Mrs. Wendell's father was what is called a Tory or Royalist, or adherent to the cause of King George. She had apprehensions not only for her own safety, but that of her father in Boston. He [Washington] therefore stopped his horse before her window and said to her: 'Madam! there is no reason for your apprehension of danger to your life here or to that of your father, from this noisy discharge of cannon and bombs. . . . You may rest in quiet repose, night and day, for aught I know to the contrary at present. Should danger approach you by night or day, you shall know in time, in common with your females, all to rest in safety.' And he never passed that lady's window without a bow of protection to both Whig and Tories. So that General Gage himself, had he come out of Boston to Cambridge, could not have said more to tranquilize the fears of the female part of the community than what Washington intimated to the numerous Tories of Cambridge."

May 10, 1841. "A few days past, died Mrs. Elizabeth Craigie, widow

of Andrew Craigie, whose father was usually called Captain Craigie; who commanded a ship for years between Boston and London."

Here is a bit of pre-revolutionary reminiscence when he was living in Newport:

August 18, 1841. "I distinctly remember when Peter Mumford was the travelling post-master between Boston and New York through Newport, Rhode Island, on horse-back. At length we could send to Boston for a *pound of green tea*; and when P. M. rode in a green chair some of our epicures, as my preceptor Dr. Halliburton coaxed Mumford to bring a salmon, when we made a feast for the Post-Master, who was then a *great* man and not a little courted. He wore a gold-laced hat, and was considered almost equal to the captain of a British sloop of war."

In June, 1842, — he is now eighty-eight years old, — he writes:

"Last night was perpetrated one of the most atrocious deeds ever known to be perpetrated in Harvard Colleges, nothing less than the explosion of a bomb-shell of the largest size, say thirteen inches, which tore and nearly spoilt three rooms, — and called it sport. Most of the inhabitants were aroused by [it]. It beats for atrocity anything I ever heard in England, Scotland, Ireland or in [any] part of America. Its baseness, meanness, and cowardice, its disgracefulness, is enough to dishonor the name of everything that partakes of the name of a college. The culprit richly merits a thick coat of tar and feathers and to be whipped at the cart's tail out of Cambridge; instead of the honors of College, nothing but dishonor and black disgrace should stick to him wherever he attempted to lurk."

October 12, 1842. "Very serene weather; and as yet I have seen no ice. Wind rather too high for a pleasant walk over the Common to the new and commodious reading room, formerly the bar-room of the tavern; now the resting or stopping place of the stage between Boston and Cambridge, or rather Watertown and Lancaster. Nothing can be finer than this weather. I miss my brother, the Rev. Dr. Ware, since his removal."

I will close by reading his last entry, which he made April 14, 1844, when he was just past ninety years old. Throughout the Journal from time to time he searches his life and his conscience and his heart, after the fashion of a man inherently religious. Now he says:

“All the seed which I myself have thrown broad-cast has not all *rotted* in the ground. Some of my feeble efforts must have prospered, even at this late hour of my day. Some very useful things would probably never have existed or been postponed to a late and chilling distance of time, but for my exertions. I cut the claws and wings of small pox, & in the venerable Dr. Sawyer’s opinion uprooted if not destroyed several contagious disorders. . . . I am not, I hope, a boaster, but I have done my part. Perhaps the love of fame may have had its full share in [this]. . . . This passion must not be too severely condemned. It is the food, the *wholesome* food, of diffusing *blessings* throughout the land. The Bible teaches throughout *the Love of Praise*. Deprive men of it and you *hamstring* them. He who indulges honest industry is a Patriot, and a true patriot is a *Nobleman*, and ought to be honored. I wish we had more of them.”

At the conclusion of Mr. Thayer’s paper, the meeting was dissolved.

THE FIFTEENTH MEETING

THE FIFTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-seventh day of April, nineteen hundred and nine, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for the purpose of celebrating the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT presided.

The meeting was open to the public.

Among the invited guests were many persons prominent in literature, science, and public life, and about one hundred physicians who were graduated from the Harvard Medical School during the years eighteen hundred and forty-seven to eighteen hundred and seventy-two, when Dr. Holmes was a Professor in its faculty. There was also present Edward Jackson Holmes, Esquire, the only living grandchild of the poet.

The printed programme was as follows :

PROGRAMME.

Music by the Orchestra of the Cambridge Latin School.

OPENING REMARKS RICHARD HENRY DANA.

ADDRESS The Chairman, CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT.

ADDRESS THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

MUSIC THE HARVARD GLEE CLUB.

“ Union and Liberty ” *Francis Boott.*

Words by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

“ Angel of Peace ”

Words by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, for the National Peace Festival.

ADDRESS DAVID WILLIAMS CHEEVER.

ADDRESS EDWARD WALDO EMERSON.

READING CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND.

“The Last Leaf”

“The Chambered Nautilus”

ADDRESS SAMUEL MCCORD CROTHERS.

A HOLMES CENTENARY EXHIBITION of rare editions, manuscripts, and other memorabilia will be open free to the public in the Cambridge Room of the Cambridge Public Library, Broadway, Cambridge, each day from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. of the week beginning April 28th, 1909.

REMARKS OF RICHARD HENRY DANA

MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND ITS GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: One hundred years ago there was what has since proved to have been a remarkable year, in that within its twelve months were born eight great men, Poe, Mendelssohn, Lincoln, Darwin, Chopin, Tennyson, Holmes, and Gladstone. Of these, the Cambridge Historical Society claims the duty and privilege of celebrating the centenary of Oliver Wendell Holmes; and the charter of this right is found in his own writings in the poem “Parson Turell’s Legacy”:

“Know old Cambridge? Hope you do.—
Born there? Don’t say so! I was, too.”

That this is our Cambridge, you can all readily see from the lines that follow the description of the gambrel-roof house, now no more, having given way to Harvard athletics:

“Nicest place that ever was seen,—
Colleges red and Common green,
Sidewalks brownish, with trees between;
Sweetest spot beneath the skies,
When the canker worms don’t rise,—
When the dust, that sometimes flies
Into your mouth and ears and eyes,
In a quiet slumber lies,
Not in the shape of unbaked pies
Such as barefoot children prize.”

The identification is complete, for the browntail and gypsy moths, unmentioned in the poem, are recent importations.

Not only was Mr. Holmes born in Cambridge, in what may be called its historical centre, but he loved the place. This love he showed in his writings and his talk. Mrs. Dana and I made a point of calling on him at least once a year, sometimes driving from Manchester-by-the-Sea to "Beverly-by-the-Depot," as Mr. Holmes called it, not to be outdone in names. I don't think, in any of those calls, he failed to bring up the topic of Cambridge,—the Cambridge of the past with all the common memories, and of the present, with inquiries of our common friends; and warming to the subject, he brought out his quaintest epigrams, his keenest wit, his most picturesque descriptions. I always wished I had concealed about my person some phonograph, or a stenographer behind the door. Though I have no records of those precious words, the impression of variety, charm, and exhilaration remains.

Having then demonstrated our right to this celebration, I, as President of the Cambridge Historical Society, am now to introduce to you the Chairman of the evening, though both the Society and I have much more need that he should introduce us than that I should introduce him. In presenting him to you, I will give the sentiment that Holmes gave on another occasion, almost exactly twenty years ago: "To be seventy years young is sometimes far more cheerful and hopeful than to be forty years old." Ladies and Gentlemen, President Charles W. Eliot.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN, CHARLES W. ELIOT

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You appreciate already, I am sure, from what has just now been said, that we are going to have to-night a very cheerful and joyous

celebration. None other would be fit for Dr. Holmes. He was one of the most inspiring persons that we any of us have met, as we have gone through life. He was cheerful, gay, free, animated, and animating. His career presents an extraordinary variety of interests and achievements, as I am sure you will be reminded by the different speakers of this evening, each of whom will, in all probability, present one side of his character and his career.

• It was singularly appropriate that Dr. Holmes should be born in Cambridge, in the old house which was the headquarters of the American Army besieging Boston until Washington arrived in Cambridge. It was on the doorstep of that house that one of my predecessors in the office I hold offered prayer before the detachment of troops that was proceeding to the engagement, on the next day, at Bunker Hill. He was born in a house which represented the uttermost patriotic endeavor of that day. He was born and brought up in Cambridge, and Cambridge during his boyhood and youth was the centre of a great struggle in the religious denominations. His own father was a very important actor in that struggle, long minister of the First Church of Cambridge, continuing with the seceding section of that church, and leaving to the majority of the parish the possession of the meeting-house. He was brought up at a time when all the educated men of this neighborhood were struggling with intellectual and moral problems, the problems of theological belief and of religious practices and observances; and all his subsequent thought seems to have been impregnated with this spirit of free discussion, this intense interest in some of the highest themes of human thought, and some of the most precious of all the practices of liberty. Throughout his career he was a patriot in every sense. He loved not only Cambridge but his country. He taught patriotism not only in prose but in verse. It was almost his

dearest love — the love of freedom and of the institutions which permit men to be free.

The first speaker to-night is to be one who was born in the next house to that in which Dr. Holmes was born. He has been a neighbor and comrade of Dr. Holmes through a long lifetime. He is singularly fitted to speak to you of Dr. Holmes's essential quality as exhibited in his writings, in his speech, in his glad participation in festive literary occasions; and I believe it is one of those festive occasions of which you are first to hear. I have the honor of presenting to you Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

A DINNER WITH DR. HOLMES

It is generally admitted, I believe, that there were two positions in which Dr. Holmes appeared to the greatest advantage, the medical lecture room and the literary club dinner. I have spoken somewhere else of a dinner once given by the Atlantic Club to Dr. and Mrs. Stowe under Dr. Holmes's guidance, which was well worth remembering; and I have lately fortified my own imperfect recollection of that occasion by some fuller testimony from two other guests. I will venture to offer to this audience the combined aid of two such observers, the oldest of these being Professor Longfellow and the youngest being Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford, then Miss Prescott. Mr. Longfellow's memoranda, terse and expressive, as his always were, are to be found in the life of him by his brother. They stand as follows:

[July 9, 1859.] "Dined with the *Atlantic Club* at the Revere. Mrs. Stowe was there with a green wreath on her head, which I thought very becoming. Also Miss Prescott, who wrote the story 'In a Cellar.' The others were Mr. Stowe, with his patriarchal gray beard, Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Underwood, Higginson, etc. One of the publishers of the Magazine is a good teller of funny stories."

This is all we have from Longfellow.

Mrs. Spofford, who was present as my guest, writes as follows:

March 10, 1909.

I am delighted if there is anything where I can be of use to you ; but truly I am afraid there is very little of Dr. Holmes in my recollection of that dinner [she was then four and twenty]. I remember cutting and making my gown, since a new gown was the only wear for such a function, and then I remember no more till I found myself under my uncle Montague's convoy in a drawing-room of the Revere House, where a lady, rather lovely looking, I thought, was even earlier than I. 'She wore a black shawl over her black silk and lace, and flowers in her hair. For three quarters of an hour we sat there without speaking, on opposite sides of *the room*. At the end of a half hour, may be, she asked me if I knew what time it was, and I said I did n't; and then there was silence again till Mr. Lowell came in. I see him now in his nut-brown coat and I thought him beautiful, whether because of his blazing blue eyes or of his great kindness to me."

Mrs. Spofford does not here explain that the reception room for ladies was in a story above that for gentlemen, and that it was Dr. Holmes and myself who were sent upstairs to escort them down. I think she did not see Lowell till later. Dr. Holmes was the head of the entertainment, and I, as nearly or quite the youngest among the men, was perhaps the only one who knew Miss Prescott personally. I remember vividly that as we went upstairs the vivacious Autocrat said to me, "Can I venture it? Do you suppose that Mrs. Stowe disapproves of me *very much*?" he being then subject to severe criticism from the more conservative theologians. The lady was gracious, however, and seemed glad to be rescued at last from her wearisome waiting. She came downstairs wearing her green wreath which Professor Longfellow found so becoming.

It would appear from Mrs. Spofford's narrative that Mr. Lowell, as second in command, took Mrs. Stowe into the dining-room, and I remember that she went to the farther end of the table with him, while Miss Prescott found herself sitting at Dr. Holmes's right and my left.

"Opposite," she says, "were Mr. Whittier and Dr. Stowe with his vast white beard. I wonder if any of his ghostly familiars hung about him there. There were Edmund Quincy, E. P. Whipple, Frank Underwood, Mr. Wyman [John C.] and others of the magnificos, I forget whom ; and at the other end were Mr. Lowell, and Mr. Longfellow. I

think Mr. Emerson was there, but am not sure. [He was not.] Mrs. Stowe had accepted the invitation on the condition that there should be no wine and Mr. Longfellow had quietly suggested that they should send to Miss Prescott's 'wine cellar' which would have been barmecidal. Mrs. Howe had been expected, but a death in her family kept her away, and Rose Terry had been asked, but did not come."

The table was very gay, as we all remembered afterwards.

"Dr. Holmes talked incessantly," Mrs. Spofford says, "not to me, for he saw it would disturb the very timid young woman beside him. Why can't I recall a word he said except the idiotic fact of his using the word *hypochondriasis*! But I suppose I was diverted from any act of memory by observation of the gesture with which he tossed back his head for his asparagus and the amazing celerity with which he ate his ice.

"Dr. Stowe was quite silent, but I heard Mr. Whittier say he wished every cathedral and every statue in the world were destroyed; but I think you and I agree that he had never perhaps seen a cathedral or, perhaps, a good statue."

Mrs. Spofford did not know the whole story of the evening in respect to the conditions placed on the guests, and here her tale must end and I must continue it myself. The thawing influence of wine was wanting at its earlier part when my neighbor on the right, Edmund Quincy, called a waiter mysteriously and giving him his glass of water waited tranquilly while it was being replenished. It came back suffused with a rosy hue. Some one else followed his example, and presently the "conscious water" was blushing at various points around the board; although I doubt whether Holmes, with water-drinkers two deep on each side of him, got really his share of the coveted beverage. If he had, it might have modified the course of his talk, for I remember that he devoted himself largely to demonstrating to Dr. Stowe that all swearing doubtless originated in the free use made by the pulpit of sacred words and phrases; while Lowell, at the other end of the table, was maintaining for Mrs. Stowe's benefit that Fielding's "Tom Jones" was the best novel ever written. This line of discussion may have been lively, but was not marked by eminent tact; and Whittier, indeed, told me afterwards that Dr. and Mrs. Stowe agreed in saying to him that while the company at the dinner was,

no doubt, distinguished, the conversation was not quite what they had been led to expect. Yet Dr. Stowe was of a kindly nature and perhaps was not seriously disturbed even when Holmes assured him that there were in Boston and Cambridge whole families not perceptibly affected by Adam's fall: as, for instance, the family of Ware. — And thus ends my story.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose that for most of us here present Dr. Holmes was an essayist, a writer of verses, a man who excelled in witty conversation, and who put much of this wit into his writings, both prose and poetry. He seemed to us one who entertained humanity and whose chief function in life was of that sort. Now, there was an altogether different side to Dr. Holmes. His main work, for many years of his life, was teaching anatomy and physiology in the Harvard Medical School. He himself told me that this seemed to him the principal work he had done during his life. For many years he lectured five times a week for more than four months, chiefly on anatomy, but later on physiology also. This was a very serious undertaking. It involved an exact knowledge of the anatomy of all parts of the human body. He was learned in all the world's lore on that subject. He was acquainted with all the mediæval, as well as the modern, knowledge. He prepared himself carefully for every day's lecture, and he also directed with exactness, and sometimes with exactingness, the work of the young men who prepared the demonstrations for his lectures. We are next to hear from one of the young men who served Dr. Holmes as demonstrator. This service was a very arduous one; for Dr. Holmes insisted on the most careful, accurate, intelligible preparation of all the specimens on which he was to lecture. In intercourse with Dr. Holmes, I have found his reminiscences on this subject the most interesting of all his conversations. He regarded himself as a pioneer in the method of teaching many of the

medical subjects with which he had to deal; and I hope you are immediately to hear of some of this pioneering work. Dr. Holmes had great sagacity in perceiving the shortcomings of medical education and medical practice. He also was very keen to see the promise of improvement, and the directions in which improvement could be hoped for. He was the first medical teacher in this country, so far as I have been able to learn, to undertake to show a medical class how to use microscopes, and to indicate to them what medicine had to learn through the use of the microscope. He once took the trouble to show me, as president of the University, what his arrangements were for giving a chance to every student in his class to look through a simple microscope at specimens which he had caused to be prepared. He was a prophet in this respect — more than a pioneer, a prophet; for now a large portion of medical teaching is given through microscopes, and many — I had almost said most — of the great medical discoveries of the last twenty years have depended on the use of the microscope, and particularly of the immersion lens. I was anxious to bring home to you this side of Dr. Holmes's work, for it is known to comparatively few of his admirers, and yet he himself regarded his medical teaching as the core of his intellectual life, and a large part of his intellectual achievement.

The next speaker was for several years Dr. Holmes's demonstrator. I present to you Dr. David Williams Cheever.

ADDRESS OF DAVID WILLIAMS CHEEVER

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MY FELLOW DEMONSTRATORS, MY FELLOW STUDENTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It was the privilege of my youth and my generation — a privilege denied to our sons and their generation — to enter this College when it was so

small that, as a student, I was brought into contact with full professors, headmasters, and knew them all. Edward Everett, Andrew Peabody, James Walker, Jared Sparks, Agassiz, Jeffries Wyman, Gray the botanist, Channing the merciless critic, James Russell Lowell, Longfellow, — these men, distinguished above their fellows, inspired me, taught me, controlled my life. So in the Medical School and after my graduation, with Oliver Wendell Holmes, Doctor of Medicine, Professor of Anatomy, my much loved master, I was fortunate in being in daily intercourse for eight years, as his demonstrator.

He studied medicine both here and abroad. His letters from Paris show the keen enjoyment of youth, though united to a good deal of serious attention to his professional pursuits.

In 1836 he returned to Boston, well equipped for his life work as a doctor, and having the advantages of youth, ability, a good reputation and environment. Yet his progress in his profession was slow, and while he had all the pleasures of youth, he lacked the one prize, success. He built up a moderate practice, but probably was not over-strenuous in his calling.

An early appointment in the Massachusetts General Hospital must have much benefited him, but he kept it only three years. We may doubt whether he fully carried out the course he advised to medical students: "Do not linger by the enchanted streams of literature, nor dig in the far-off fields for the hidden waters of alien sciences. The great practitioners are generally those who concentrate all their powers on their business."

His mind was more academic than practical. A poet, a writer, a wit, the drudgery of medical practice could not appeal to him as his one pursuit in life. When he uttered the witticism of "small favors (fevers) gratefully received," it may be doubted whether those who had fevers would be attracted to him as their doctor. Then also he was too sensitive for the studied impassiveness imposed on the physician by the necessity of bearing other people's burdens without faltering, for he could not endure to see a rabbit chloroformed. And yet his nature was so kindly, his aspect and address so genial, that he must have been a welcome attendant in the sick-room, and a master in the newer science of psycho-therapeutics, or mind-cure. It was much later in life that he antagonized

certain classes of believers in infinitesimal doses and in phrenology by dubbing them pseudosciences; during his earlier years nothing stood against his success but his poetical and literary tastes.

What the community lost in a doctor the world gained in a witty *causeur*, a charming essayist, poet, and ballad writer. He won the Boylston prize for a medical essay; and "Intermittent Fever in New England" still has value as a careful analysis of the evidences of malaria. Later he wrote his epoch-making paper on "The Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever," which provoked a storm of acrid criticism, but struck the first keynote of asepsis. In reply to his critics these are his words: "I take no offence and attempt no retort. No man makes a quarrel with me over the counterpane that covers a mother with her new-born infant at her breast."

In 1838 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy at Dartmouth College. He lectured there three seasons, and it was a useful training-school for a wider field, for in 1847 he was appointed Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of Harvard University. He held this office for thirty-five years.

This was his life work professionally, for he no longer practised medicine. Henceforward Holmes the anatomist must be the chief subject of my remarks, and yet the poetic soul and scholarly nature of the man were so united with the professor that all these must be duly considered. How did he impress his demonstrator? Was he a hero to his assistant?

The year after his death I wrote my impressions. They were then so recent and so vivid that I cannot do better than quote from them as follows:

"It nears one o'clock, and the close work in the demonstrator's room in the old Medical School in North Grove Street becomes even more hurried and eager as the lecture hour in anatomy approaches. Four hours of busy dissection have unveiled a portion of the human frame, insensate and stark, on the demonstrating table. Muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels unfold themselves in unvarying harmony, if seeming disorder; and the 'subject' is nearly ready to illustrate the lecture. The room is thick with tobacco smoke. The winter light, snowy and dull, enters through one tall window, bare of curtain, and falls upon a lead floor. The surroundings are singularly barren of ornament or beauty, and there is naught to inspire the intellect or the imagination,

except the marvellous mechanism of the poor dead body which lies dissected before us, like some complex and delicate machinery, whose uses we seek to know.

"To such a scene enters the poet, the writer, the wit, Oliver Wendell Holmes. Few readers of his prose or poetry could dream of him, as here, in this charnel-house, in the presence of death. The very long, steep, and single flight of stairs leading up from the street below resounds with a double and labored tread; the door opens, and a small, gentle, smiling man appears, supported by the janitor, who often has been called on to help him up the stairs. Entering and giving a breathless greeting, he sinks upon a stool and strives to recover his asthmatic breath. Anon recovering, he brightens up and asks, 'What have you for me today?' and plunges, knife in hand, into the 'depths of his subject,'—a joke he might have uttered.

"Time flies, and a boisterous crowd of turbulent Bob Sawyers pours through the hall to his lecture-room, and begins a rhythmical stamping, one, two, three, and a shout, and pounding on his lecture-room doors. A rush takes place. Some collapse, some are thrown headlong, and three hundred raw students precipitate themselves into a bare and comfortless amphitheatre.

"Meanwhile the Professor has been running about, now as nimble as a cat, selecting plates, rummaging the dusty museum for specimens, arranging microscopes, and displaying bones.

"The subject is carried in on a board: no automatic appliances, no wheels with pneumatic tires, no elevators, no dumb-waiters in those days. The *cadaver* is decorously disposed on a revolving table in the small arena, and is always covered, at first, from curious eyes, by a clean white sheet. Respect for poor humanity is the first lesson, and the uppermost in the poet-lecturer's mind. He enters, and is greeted with a mighty shout and stamp of applause.

"Then silence, and there begins a charming hour of description, analogies, simile, anecdote, harmless pun, which clothes the dry bones with poetic imagery, enlivens a hard and fatiguing day with humor, and brightens to the tired listener the details of a difficult though interesting study. We say tired listener because the student is now hearing his fifth consecutive lecture that day, beginning at nine o'clock and ending at two; no pause, no rest, no recovery for the dazed senses, which have tried to absorb *materia medica*, chemistry, practice, obstetrics, and anatomy all in one morning, by five learned professors. One o'clock was always assigned to Dr. Holmes, because he alone could hold his exhausted audience's attention."

As a lecturer he was accurate, punctual, precise, unvarying in patience over detail; and, though not an original anatomist in the sense of a discoverer, yet a most exact descriptive lecturer; while the wealth of illustration, comparison, and simile used was unequalled. Hence his charm; you received information and you were amused at the same time. He was always simple and rudimentary in his instruction. His flights of fancy never shot over his hearers' heads. "Iteration and reiteration" was his favorite motto in teaching. "These, gentlemen," he said on one occasion, pointing out the lower portion of the pelvic bones, "are the tuberosities of the ischia, on which man was designed to sit and survey the works of creation." But if witty, he could also be serious and pathetic, and he possessed the high power of holding and controlling his rough audience.

And how he loved anatomy! as a mother her child. He was never tired, always fresh, always eager in learning and teaching it. In earnest himself, enthusiastic, and of a happy temperament, he shed the glow of his ardent spirit over his followers, and gave to me, his demonstrator and assistant, some of the most attractive and happy hours of my life.

He was very fond of old books. His folios of Albinus, Vesalius, Mascagni, with their wonderful steel engravings of dissections, were to him choice morsels, to be sparingly exhibited and closely guarded.

Next to Dr. Chadwick, our late librarian, Dr. Holmes was the promoter of our Boston Medical Library. He was for many years its president, and he bequeathed his anatomical library to it, besides aiding it by memorable addresses.

Before his great success as a writer for the "Atlantic Monthly," he eked out a living by giving lyceum lectures all over New England, and he brought back a fresh attack of his hereditary enemy, asthma, from every cold bedroom he occupied. The emoluments of his professorship were moderate, and feeling that he needed them, he was timid about any change which might reduce the class and his necessary fees.

Yet he was heartily in sympathy with all progress, and he ultimately indorsed every new movement. In the vexed question of the admission of women to the Medical School he deprecated co-

education, and, above all, co-education in anatomy; and he insisted that if he taught women it should be in "lectures to women only," and never to the two sexes in one class.

He was a great sceptic of the effects of medicine; so were Sir John Forbes, Jacob Bigelow, and Cotting, his contemporaries. It was the spirit of the times, what I call the era of "therapeutic nihilism," — of expectant medicine, which waited on nature, but sometimes waited too long. Medicine was not then the science it is now becoming by discoveries in microscopy, pathology, and by animal experimentation. And as surgery had not yet cleared my vision, as a young practitioner, I was floundering in a sea of doubts as to the benefits of any medical treatment of disease, and was almost tempted to throw up my profession.

Yet Dr. Holmes was no mean microscopist. He used the instrument in his lectures, relied on it, and made some mechanical improvements in it and some discoveries.

He was patriotic at a personal sacrifice; and that quality, kindled by a righteous wrath against oppression, led him to be a fervent Northern Union man in our Civil War.

How analyze such a character and personality? First of all, and above all, a poetic temperament; verse, rhythm, musical sequence, sympathy, tenderness, pathos were enlivened by wit, geniality, personal charm. He was a *raconteur* and conversationalist, most welcome in any social gathering.

His facility of expression and ease of style made his prose writings attractive and his novels readable. But it was in his printed Talks that he found the largest audience of admirers. A lyric poet resembling Burns, Whittier, and Wordsworth, if not to be classed with the great poets of history, he yet will live in many of his charming verses.

Are there no flaws in the crystal? Yes, but pardonable ones. He had a fair share of self-esteem, but I conceive that quality to be not only enduring, but even praiseworthy, if based on real ability. He was sometimes possessed by the tyranny of monologue. He wanted the field of conversation to himself. He filled it better than others, but sometimes excluded others. He was witty, but rarely sarcastic. The arrows of his wit were not poisoned; they left no fatal sting.

A short time before his death I went to see him, and he fell to talking of his bodily condition. He said he was short-breathed, somewhat hard of hearing, but his sight was good, and added, "When Nature is ready to shut up shop, she kindly puts up the shutters, one by one."

The medical profession is indebted to Dr. Holmes for many outspoken public utterances in its behalf. He was our poet-doctor; witty over our failings, but whole-souled in sympathy with our trials. He appreciated the almost sacred character of our duties; witness these four verses from his poem :

"As Life's unending column pours,
Two marshalled hosts are seen;
Two armies on the trampled shores
That Death flows black between.

"One marches to the drum-beat's roll,
The wide-mouthed clarion's bray,
And bears upon a crimson scroll
'Our glory is to slay.'

"One moves in silence by the stream
With sad, yet watchful eyes,
Calm as the patient planet's gleam
That walks the clouded skies.

"Along its front no sabres shine,
No blood-red pennons wave;
Its banner bears the single line,
'Our duty is to save.'"

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Cheever has set before us this serious, incessant labor of Dr. Holmes's life. He has told you how Dr. Holmes contended for years against ridicule, against eager denunciation from doctors of high standing, when he maintained that puerperal fever was carried from patient to patient by the visiting physician. It is a great happiness for us all that Dr. Holmes lived to see his teaching absolutely proved through the progress of bacteriology and the general advancement of our knowledge of contagion and the means of resisting the transmission of disease. He lived

to see these life-saving teachings of his middle life proved absolutely correct.

I was reading, a few days ago, an address by Dr. Holmes before the graduating medical class more than forty years ago, and in that paper I observed another instance of Dr. Holmes's penetration and foresight with regard to what was coming in the treatment of disease. He mentioned with approbation a remark of a distinguished English physician that one of the chief causes of the terrible mortality of tuberculosis was sleeping in foul air, and disregarding the need of fresh air for the diseased person. There was an indication in this citation of the present treatment of tuberculosis, and Dr. Holmes had perceived the force of this indication, and pressed it in this address given more than forty years ago.

But we must not dwell too much upon this most serious and laborious side of Dr. Holmes's career. It was to him, as I have said, the core of his service, the core of his intellectual life. But he illumined that, as Dr. Cheever has shown, with many brilliant touches of poetry, humor, and wit, and I think our next speaker is going to carry us on to this bright side of Dr. Holmes's work.

Dr. Emerson was a pupil of Dr. Holmes. He had the privilege of seeing him as medical students saw him. And, moreover, Dr. Emerson had an hereditary knowledge of the remarkable group of poets and literary men with whom Dr. Holmes associated for many years of his long life. Dr. Cheever alluded, just now, to a certain quality of Dr. Holmes which some people were disposed to smile at, to a certain satisfaction with his own conversation, — to a certain pleasure he had in listening to his own discourse. I have seen him giving a graduating address to a Dental Class, when, as he looked ahead on his manuscript, and saw a joke coming, he was so delighted with the joke he had not uttered

that he laughed so that he could not read on. Then the audience knew there was something good coming. One afternoon at the Saturday Club I was sitting beside Dr. Holmes, and mentioned to him that an English gentleman had been at my house that morning who had said that Dr. Holmes was more read in England than any other American author. Dr. Holmes did n't quite hear what I said, — he was already a little hard of hearing, — and he stooped forward to me and said, "What was that? What did you say? Repeat that. You know I like it laid on thick." There was something charming about these very qualities in Dr. Holmes; they were so frank, so simple, so merry. I present to you our next speaker, Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD WALDO EMERSON

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Dr. Cheever has admirably told of Dr. Holmes as physician, as professor, and as writer on medical subjects. In all these functions he was his esteemed colleague. I had the fortune to be one of the throng that sat on the benches of the old Medical School during the latter years of his teaching, and, later, the honor of meeting him as inherited friend at the Saturday Club, and once or twice at his home. My best service will be to give some recollections and quotations, but it is not easy to marshal in order due my short procession.

From sixty-two to twenty-seven years ago, both staircases leading to the anatomical lecture-room of the old Harvard Medical School were daily packed with struggling youths, and when the bolts were drawn it was as if a dam had burst and a torrent poured down the steep amphitheatre and flooded its seats. Such a sight was seen at no other lecture. It was not only due to Dr. Holmes's exact technical knowledge and thorough demonstration of the dissection of the day, for the idlest and rudest students eagerly attended.

To his title, "Professor of Anatomy and Physiology," might well

have been added "and the Humanities." He divested the cast-off human chrysalis of all gruesome associations, treated it reverently, summoned the old Masters of Anatomy, Albinus, and the rest, and its martyr too, Vesalius, to counsel, but never forgot to praise the good work of his assistant and the young prosecutors. His illustrations were poetic, his similes most fortunate, and the lecture, though conversational, was a rhetorical masterpiece.

And the word passed among the young barbarians that this man had written a book, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," which they presently got, and read, and lent, — very likely their first improving book, — a liberal education in itself, betraying them by its sparkling shallows into deeper basins wherein perchance they learned to swim, or could flounder through till they felt firm bottom again.

Dr. Holmes was Professor of Physiology, too, the last to teach in the didactic way — he welcomed the laboratory method, when it came in younger hands, always provided that experiments were done under anesthetics — but none the less the instruction was valuable, and always civilizing. Ancient and modern literature, mechanics, optics (he was one of the first apostles of the microscope with its beautiful and helpful revelations), psychology, behavior, humanity, religion, found place in his instruction, yet he had a sense of proportion and subordinated them. He knew, too, when to resign his professorship in the Medical School.

No question could remain in any student's mind whether the Doctor loved his teaching. We could see how he enjoyed the perfect service of his faithful hand-maiden, Memory, secure in her prompting as to the complicated branches of each artery and the wonderful district-service of the nerves, and the Latin names of each. He never had notes to help him. We were narcotized with bad air, but he made it his business to make learning so entertaining, and startle flagging attention by some surprising remark, that one could n't go to sleep. Though with amusing lapses from professional dignity, he never lost the respect of his audience. Dr. Dwight, his successor, says that Dr. Holmes chose to speak rather to the lower half of his class, humanely feeling that it was better to help them, as most in need. It was a lift to their character as well as their knowledge of structure.

The grafting of medicine on to a Puritan clerical stock, the re-potting into the conservatory of Paris, the transplantation after several years of vigorous culture back to the native soil, gave a wonderfully successful hybrid, — a small, hardy perennial, not notably medicinal, yet a good test of medicine, blossoming singularly and sometimes beautifully, and bearing sweet, wholesome, and spicy fruit.

Miss Mitford's description of Dr. Holmes in 1851 is good :

“ A small, compact little man, the delight and ornament of every society he enters, buzzing about like a bee, or fluttering like a humming bird, exceedingly difficult to catch, unless he be really wanted for some kind act — *then you are sure of him.*”

The Hub was world enough for him, as London was for Johnson, and Concord for Thoreau, and he did it justice and justified it. Partly because of his utter love for it, partly because his asthma made it unsafe for him to sleep away from home, he almost never roamed. I think he never saw nor had any conception of the great West, with its new ambitions, cravings for vast elbow-room, and its aversion, having set its hand to the prairie-plough, to look back to the sweet associations of the Past.

Those not born on the banks of the Charles, and who find that their preceding generations will not fulfil the numerical conditions that the good Doctor requires for recognition as belonging to the Brahmin Caste, may naturally chafe or laugh at his limitations, but if they read his book through they will easily pardon them, “ because he loved much,” and learn to love him. They may have heard the rumor that even Saint Peter is reported to have said aside to a good Boston man as he passed him in to Heaven, “ You won't like it !”

Well, seated on the Hub then, — he might have had a worse chair, — this charming and frankly avowed egotist — the reproach of the name being neutralized by the size of his heart and the humanity and culture of his mind — proceeded on a university-extension and home-culture plan as Autocrat, Professor, and Poet, to ameliorate the world. He accomplished much.

I have said that Dr. Holmes knew when it was time for him to resign his place at the Medical School when the lift of a new gen-

eration was beginning to transform it, yet opportunities for wider use had been opened to him; called to help out a literary venture, he created there a chair, with thousands in America and Europe on the benches.

When pestered beyond his usual courteous tolerance by a lady correspondent from California, he wrote to a friend, "If she doesn't jump into the Pacific, I shall have to leap into the Atlantic — I mean the original damp spot so called." Perhaps not thus driven, but lured in by his friend Lowell's persuasion, Dr. Holmes soon found himself indeed suddenly immersed in the Atlantic — the Monthly this time — and no one can doubt that he enjoyed it, and alike his sport and his stout swimming delighted the on-looking multitude.

"If a man loves the city, so will his writings love the city, and if a man loves sweet fern and roams much in the pastures, his writings will smell of it," said another poet. I once submitted to Dr. Holmes various fragments of verse left by my father, questioning whether to include them in a posthumous edition of the Poems. His want of response to lines that showed happily close observation of nature was curious, and his awakened interest in any classical allusion or form recalling Pope or Dryden. Later, while he was writing the Memoir, it was pleasing to see his daily increasing interest in the verses, with which he had evidently not been familiar before, and one of his best chapters dealt with the poet. Yet Dr. Holmes, throwing off classical bonds, has dealt with flowers as freshly as anybody, as in the "Two Armies":

"For them the blossom-sprinkled turf
Which floods the lonely grave,
When spring rolls in her sea-green surf
In flowery-foaming waves."

Dr. Holmes was ingenuous as a child, soft-hearted and singularly impressionable. I remember well his telling of the haunting terror which followed him as a child after reading "Pilgrim's Progress," and the horror he expressed at the putting such books into the hands of imaginative children. Chivalrous and sympathetic with regard to women, he everywhere recognizes the delicacy of their organization, and cautions the coarser sex, in the words of

the French toymakers, "*Il faut ne pas brutalizer la machine.*" He bade the doctor (or nurse), impatient of neurotic men or hysterical women, remember George Herbert's ideal man,

"Who, when he hath to deal
With sick folks, women, those whom passions sway,
Allows for that and keeps his constant way;
Whom others' faults do not defeat,
But, though men fail him, yet his part doth play."

Mercury, a patron of physicians, bore a magic caduceus; Æsculapius, a spear with a healing butt. Dr. Holmes carried both weapons, tested with the one, and, as stoutly as St. George himself, thrust his spear—a ray of science and humanity—into cruelty and hypocrisy wherever it appeared, though clothed with the priest's or doctor's robe. Mock miracles, inhuman doctrines, he loathed, as the philosopher and poet should, and he was both.

As he did not spare his own profession, so he allowed no "benefit of clergy" to shield the doctor of the soul from his formidable wit or wrath, if, in intelligence or virtue, he did shame to his cloth. His delightful simile of the spirited persecution by the little king-bird of the black-robed crow well described his own course. Especially did he deride the violent and vain struggle of the narrow clergy to blind themselves and their flocks against the light of Science. What could be neater than this parable?

"As feeble seabirds, blinded by the storms,
On some tall lighthouse dash their little forms,
And the rude granite smashes for their pains
Those small deposits that were meant for brains,
Yet the proud fabric in the morning sun
Stands all unconscious of the mischief done;
Gleams from afar, all heedless of the fleet
Of gulls and boobies brainless at its feet.
I tell their fate, yet courtesy disclaims
To call mankind by such ungentle names;
Yet when to emulate their course ye dare,
Think of their doom, ye simple, and beware!"

I think it was in connection with the shock that the clergy experienced when Darwin's doctrine of evolution was first announced that Dr. Holmes most happily utilized the story told in

the Acts of the Apostles of the letting down from Heaven before the startled Peter, in a vision, of a sheet gathered at the corners, in which he saw beasts of all kinds, clean and unclean, and the divine bidding came to him, "Kill and eat." The shocked Apostle drew back, exclaiming, "Not so, Lord, for nothing common or unclean hath at any time entered into my mouth." But the voice of the great Creator came, sternly superseding the Mosaic Law, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common."

The Doctor's wit was admirable, and he seldom let it run away with him. His singular skill in running over the thin ice of subjects not usually allowed in general conversation was temptation to him, but he usually accomplished it brilliantly. His literary armory was full of shining weapons wrought by him from physiological and even pathological material. May I be pardoned, for its wit's sake, for recalling some of his extraordinary rhetoric in the lectures?

What could be happier as a simile than, when enumerating the advances in medical science, he speaks of the value of Pathological Anatomy, and admits that the individual examined is not benefited thereby, adding, "But, after all, it is a good deal like inspecting what remains of the fireworks on the 5th of July." When describing the regulation of the circulation of the skin through the action of the vaso-motor nerves on the arterioles in sudden fear, constricting them, and producing pallor, or, through inhibitory action, suddenly relaxing, and filling the surface capillaries with red blood, he cheerfully added, "That pleasing phenomenon which some of you may witness on the cheek of that young person whom you expect to visit this evening."

Alluding to the shortening of the face in age by the loss of teeth and absorption of their sockets, he said, "You have, no doubt, noticed the extraordinary way in which elderly people will suddenly shut up their faces like an accordion"; and, praising the modern dentists for their skilful repairing of the ravages of time, he said, "Had your art been thus perfected in the last century, we should not see the Father of his Country, in Stuart's portrait, with attention divided between the cares of State and the sustaining his uppers in position."

His poems often show, what he would have delighted to demon-

strate, that the facial muscles with which we laugh and cry lie side by side.

Once on a college occasion — could it have been here? — some one praised the address. Dr. Holmes answered: "Yes, the speech was good, but the speaker such an unpleasant person! He's just one of those fungi that always grow upon universities."

The doctor's wit lightened the hour, but it fixed the point illustrated in the student's mind. But there was another side. He was a poet-anatomist, a poet-physiologist, and a poet-microscopist. To the success in making the microscope achromatic, the victories of modern histology are due. Hear how the Doctor presents the matter: "Up to the time of the living generation, Nature had kept over all her inner workshops the forbidding inscription, NO ADMITTANCE. If any prying observer ventured to spy through his magnifying tubes into the mysteries of her glands and canals and fluids, she covered up her work in blinding mists and bewildering haloes, as the deities of old concealed their favored heroes in the moment of danger." See in what follows how, even in inspection of the organs of perished mortality, he follows the Creator's mandate to Peter and makes a poem of Creation out of the poor dust: "Cells pave the great highways of the interior system. . . . The soul itself sits on a throne of nucleated cells and flashes its mandates through skeins of glassy filaments which once were simple chains of vesicles."

But he was ever able to look macroscopically as well. He recalled to proud man the limitations of his knowledge thus: "But beyond the mechanical facts, all is mystery in the movements of organization as profound as the fall of a stone, or the formation of a crystal."

Dr. Holmes was naturally the Autocrat, but was quite aware of the humor of the situation. His egotism was guileless and offset by a charming humility at times. His candor was like that of an innocent child. "I am intensely interested in my own personality," he said to Mrs. Fields; "but we are all interesting to ourselves, or ought to be. *I know* I am, and I see why. We take, as it were, a mould of our own thoughts. Now let us compare it with the mould of another man on the same subject. His mould is either too large or too small, or the veins and reticulation are

altogether different. No one mould fits another man's thought. It is our own, and as such has especial interest and value."

"I have talked too much," he often said with sincere penitence, as he rose from the table; "I wanted to hear what our guest had to say." The guest, I think, was usually quite content. The Doctor did not absolutely hold the floor, he wanted *conversation that contributed to his thought*. "Talk," said Holmes to Mr. Leslie Stephen, "is to me only spading up the ground for crops of thought." Meeting Hawthorne, who had lately been induced to join the Saturday Club, at Mr. Fields's house one day at lunch, the Doctor said, "I wish you would come to Club oftener." "I should like to," said Hawthorne, "but I can't drink." "Neither can I." "Well, but I can't eat." "Nevertheless, we should like to see you." "But I can't talk, either." "You can listen, though," said Dr. Holmes, "and I wish you would come." Of course he wanted an audience. It was his right to have one.

It has been said by a friend that he was not altruistic. True, but in his own ways he was an active helper of mankind, civilizing, then advancing the knowledge of hearers and readers, in a brilliant, cheery way — making them remember.

How happily his literary gift gilded and spiced the pills which he rather enjoyed giving to the profession — because they would do them good; and they worked as good tonics.

But one great service must by no means be forgotten. How many a young mother has been saved to her husband and children because of the courage, the determination and ability with which the young Dr. Holmes insisted, in the face of fierce opposition by the learned doctors and eminent professors, that the deadly poison of child-bed fever can be carried by the physician to new cases. And we of the older generation cannot forget how, in the dark disappointments of the second year of the Civil War, — a war which struck into his own home, — his appeal stirred the young men whose sacrifice is commemorated in this hall to flock to the threatened standard.

"Listen, young heroes, your Country is calling!
Time strikes the hour for the brave and the true!
Now, while the bravest are fighting and falling,
Fill up the ranks which have opened for you!

.

"Never or now! cries the blood of a nation,
 Poured on the turf where the red rose should bloom;
Now is the day and the hour of Salvation.
 Never or now! peals the trumpet of doom!

"Never or now! roars the hoarse-throated cannon
 Through the black canopy blotting the skies;
Never or now! flaps the shell-blasted pennon
 O'er the deep ooze where the Cumberland lies!

"From the foul dens where our brothers are dying,
 Aliens and foes in the land of their birth, —
From the rank swamps where our martyrs are lying,
 Pleading in vain for a handful of earth,

"From the hot plains where they perish outnumbered,
 Furrowed and ridged by the battlefield's plough,
Comes the loud summons; too long ye have slumbered,
 Hear the last Angel-trump. — Never or now!"

Dr. Holmes, still young in spirit, but gentler, took the coming on of old age with sweetness and with a physiological interest. At a dinner of the Saturday Club not long after the death of his wife, Dr. Holmes, then President, sat at the head of the long table, and Judge Hoar at the other end. As the company broke up, the Judge came to speak with the Doctor, who called him to account as not having properly acknowledged a glass of champagne that he had sent to him. The Judge maintained that he had duly gone through all the forms, and Dr. Holmes was obliged to admit failing sight. He then spoke pleasantly to the Judge about his Golden Wedding, just celebrated, becoming much moved as he said, "I had hoped that that pleasure would come to me — to live with my wife until then — *that sets the seal*," and his voice trembled.

Cambridge, Harvard, Boston, our Country, the civilized world shall long and gratefully remember him, — helpful doctor, versatile, ingenious writer, brilliant, with a wit keen but sweet-tempered, — good, sincere, human man.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last address of the evening will dwell upon some of Dr. Holmes's most effective and most admirable prose. I present to you a brother essayist, Mr. Crothers.

ADDRESS OF SAMUEL McCHORD CROTHERS

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Most occasions like this become too solemn, from our thought of the passage of time. But we can't think in that way anything connected with Dr. Holmes. His whimsical fancy was always going into the future, picturing what was to happen then, and thinking somewhat as to whether people would remember it. Years ago he wrote about the possibility of return to scenes he loved so well, finding out what was going on. And there were certain questions which he asked, — "what is the prevalent religion of the civilization, — do men fly yet, — has the universal language come in, — is the Daily Advertiser still published, and the Evening Transcript." These matters being satisfactorily settled, he asks more modestly the further question, "— is there much inquiry now for the works of a writer of the nineteenth century by the name of, — whose works was I going to question him about, — oh, the writings of a friend of mine much esteemed by his relations. But, after all, it is of no consequence. I think he says he does n't care for posthumous reputation."

Whether Dr. Holmes cared for such reputation or not, it has certainly come, and it is likely to be lasting. I shall confine myself simply to Dr. Holmes as the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, for it is thus that he is most likely to be remembered. There are several things which make the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table memorable in our American literature. For one thing, it is distinctly American, and it has the good fortune to portray a very definite type of American life. Irving's Geoffrey Crayon was only the English Mr. Spectator translated and transplanted to America. The leisurely comment of an elderly man about town was more adapted to London than to the New York of that period, and the whole conception was distinctly imitative. But Dr. Holmes hit upon an original idea. He hit upon a situation and a character distinctly American. Let Philosophy come down from the heights and take up her abode, — and where, pray, but in a Boston boarding-house? Let there be a nervous landlady, and an opinionated old gentleman ready to be displeased, — and a timid school-mistress,

— and a divinity student who wants to know, — and a poet, — and an angular female in black bombazine, — and let there be a young fellow called John, who cares for none of these things. Then let joy be unconfined. So manage that these free-born American citizens shall be talked at by one of their fellow boarders who has usurped the authority of speech. The philosophical historian of the future may well picture the New England of the nineteenth century under the symbolism of the Autocrat and his boarding-house. You can't understand one without the other. In Europe different streams of culture flow side by side without mingling. One man belongs to the world of art; another to the world of politics; another to the world of business. And each sphere has its well-recognized boundaries and its respective conventions. Matthew Arpold advises the inherited ideal, — it is that of one who, in the society which he has chosen, is not compelled to note all the fever of some differing soul. Now in America, to note the fever of some differing soul is part of the fun. We like to use the clinical thermometer and take each other's temperature. We don't think of ourselves as belonging to an intellectual realm where every man's house is his castle. We are all boarders together. There are no gradations of rank. Nobody sits below the salt. Nobody thinks it proper to be seen and not heard. We all sit down together and have it out. We listen to the Autocrat as long as we think he talks sense. And then, when he gets beyond our depth, we push back our chairs somewhat noisily and go about our business. And the young fellow named John is one of the most important persons at the table. The Autocrat would think it his greatest triumph if he could, by all his wisdom, make the slightest impression on that imperturbable individual.

The first sentence of the Autocrat strikes the keynote of it all. "I was just going to say when I was interrupted." There you have the American philosopher at his best. Here you see the American philosopher exercising his trade under the conditions which he is allowed in the republic. He is allowed to dispense wisdom and is graciously permitted to discourse to his fellow citizens on the good, the true, and the beautiful, but he must be mighty quick about it.

We must remember, in order to get the full humor of Dr. Holmes, and the picture which he gives of the time, that the "Chambered

Nautilus" was read to the clatter of the dishes, and always we hear the side comment of the lady in black bombazine. She, and the young fellow named John, are very important people to the philosopher. And it is one of the things by which the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" will be remembered for its historic value, that it lets us into that state of mind which was Boston. We must remember that in the middle of the nineteenth century it would have been flat treason to have declared that Boston is not the finest city in the world. Dr. Holmes, with pleasant and kindly satire, — satire mixed, as all the best satire should be, with real admiration, — pictures the Boston of his time, — not the great, cosmopolitan Boston with which we are beginning to be familiar, but the Boston which was the lineal descendant of the early Puritans who sought these shores. That state of mind was described before these people came to this country, at the time when the first settlers of Massachusetts were just beginning to come from England. A Scotch Presbyterian named Bailey studied them at home, and he said of the Puritans, who were just about to sail to the westward, "They are a people inclinable to singularities. They love to differ from all the world, and shortly, from themselves. No people," said Bailey, "has more need of a presbytery." It was in these singularities, the finer and the less fine singularities, which Dr. Holmes delighted. "I value a man," said the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, "mainly for his primary relation with truth, as I understand truth." Such an assertion of independent judgment could not fail to awaken other independent boarders to strenuous opposition. "The old gentleman who sits opposite got his hand up, as a pointer lifts his forefoot, at the expression, — 'his relation with truth, as I understand truth,' and when I had done, sniffed audibly, and said that I talked like a transcendentalist. For his part, common sense was good enough for him. Precisely so," I replied; "common sense as you understand common sense." Here we are let into that discussion which had gone on without intermission since the days when old Blackstone settled on the rocky peninsula on the mouth of the Charles in order to get into primary relation with truth, as he understood it, and had his peace disturbed by the influx of certain persons from Salem who came over to the same place with the purpose of getting into primary relation with truth as they understood it. In Sunday

preachments, on Thursday lectures, in councils, in town meetings, in lecture halls and drawing-rooms, that discussion has gone on ever since. Mistress Ann Hutchinson on that spot got into primary relations with truth as she understood it. So did Margaret Fuller, and so has Mrs. Eddy. Never has any one who has done this lacked followers in the good old town, and never has any such a one lacked candid critics. So long as there is the delight in the keen give and take, the thrust and counterthrust of opinion, that state of mind which is Boston will be recognized, and if it should ever fail, men can find it in its perfection by turning back to the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. Dr. Holmes delighted in it himself. Speaking of one of the opinionated boarders, he says that he liked him because he has good, solid, old prejudices that one can rub up against. And so one can get up a superficial intellectual irritation, just as the cattle rub their backs against a rail.

But the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," including therein all that belong to it, the poet and the professor, will always have another reason for being read and being loved. The "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" is easy reading. But it was n't easy writing. It was the distilled wisdom and insight of a mature mind. And there are sentences there which go to the very quick, — which touch the very truth which men have sought long and painfully. It was n't easy writing. Easy writing does n't live long. The best warning, it seems to me, to the fluent writer is that which he will find in the directions upon his fountain pen, — "If the pen flows too freely, it is because it is nearly empty and should be filled." In many an analogy, in many a swift, keen sentence, Dr. Holmes justifies that old definition of wit, which has been given, — wit is quick. wisdom.

And lastly, it seems to me that the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" will live long because, after all, there is serious meaning and serious purpose behind it. Said Heine, "I do not wish to be remembered as a poet, but as a soldier in the great war for the liberation of humanity."

Such was Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, — not given very much to political discussion, — not yet in the thick of our modern social problems. He did fight as a soldier in the battle for the liberation

of humanity. He would liberate religion from bigotry. He would liberate scholarship from pedantry. And I think, in the educated world particularly, he will thus be remembered as a prophet of the future, as setting up an ideal of the educated man which more and more must be seen to be the true ideal. He lived at a time when old classical education, with its insistence on the humanities, was giving way to the new scientific ideal of education. And Dr. Holmes mediated between the two. He stood on the one side as a man of science, for the virtues of the new scientific order. He saw very clearly the possibility of a new pedantry of science, just as there was an old pedantry of the classics. The Poet at the Breakfast Table is a treatise on education. The two characters there are the narrow specialist who sees nothing beyond his specialty, and the master, the man who knows not only how to specialize but how to generalize. Dr. Holmes's theory of the intellectual life is summed up by showing that there are three kinds of intellectual men. There is the one-story intellect, the two-story intellect, and the three-story intellect with a skylight. All fact collectors, who have no aim beyond their facts, are one-story men. Two-story men compare, reason, generalize, using the labors of the fact collectors as well as their own. Three-story men idealize, imagine, predict, and their best illumination comes from above, through a skylight. Dr. Holmes stands in that great army of men who saw the possibility of a full and perfect union of the scientific and humanistic culture. It was the same which Wordsworth before his day prophesied, — the time that shall come in fuller culture when

Science then
 Shall be a precious visitant; and then,
 And only then, be worthy of her name,
 For then her heart shall kindle, her dull eye,
 Dull and inanimate, no more shall hang
 Chained to its object in brute slavery;
 But taught with patient interest to watch
 The processes of things, and serve the cause
 Of order and distinctness, not for this
 Shall it forget that its most noble use,
 Its most illustrious province, must be found
 In furnishing clear guidance a support
 Not treacherous to the mind's excursive power.

Dr. Holmes blended in his own mind these things, — a man of scientific training, of scientific ardor, who used his science to heighten and to brighten the excursive powers of the human mind.

THE CHAIRMAN : Our commemoration of Dr. Holmes has been thoroughly cheerful, hopeful, and expectant of a great future for this dear friend of ours. Once at the Saturday Club, whose meetings he loved so dearly, Dr. Holmes said to me, "One of the greatest pleasures in life, as I have experienced life, is frequent contact with men of intellectual force who have a cheerful and hopeful spirit and some power of expression." Now we all realize that many generations of reading and thinking people are to have just this pleasure from intellectual contact with the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The Cambridge Historical Society's commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of his birth is ended.

THE SIXTEENTH MEETING

BEING THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE SIXTEENTH MEETING, being the Fifth Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the Twenty-sixth day of October, nineteen hundred and nine, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the offices of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI submitted its Annual Report, as follows :

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OUR By-Laws require that the Council should make a report at the Annual Meeting. By an unwritten law this report is made by the members of the Council in rotation. This is why I come before you to-night, not from any choice of my own ; the honor has been thrust upon me most unexpectedly, for I really thought that the representation of this body was a masculine prerogative.

The Council has held five meetings at 44 Garden Street, the house of the Secretary, and one at the Latin School.

The Society has held three meetings: the first at the Latin School, on October 27, 1908, when a paper was read, written by Miss Ellen S. Bulfinch from documents in her possession, describing most vividly the old Tudor House, that once stood near Fresh Pond. Hollis R. Bailey, Esq., also read a paper entitled "Gleanings

from the Record of the First Church in Cambridge." At the regular Winter meeting, January 26, 1909, also held in the Latin School, two documents belonging to Miss Susanna Willard were read, — one a letter, written in 1728, to the Rev. Nathaniel Gilman, of Exeter, New Hampshire, by Rev. John Seccomb, then studying divinity here; the other an agreement made by the town and church of Concord, Massachusetts, in 1653, to give yearly five pounds sterling for the use of the College at Cambridge.

The remainder of the evening was devoted to one of the old-time physicians of Cambridge, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse. Mr. William Coolidge Lane spoke of Dr. Waterhouse especially in connection with Harvard, and read letters, now in the College library, written by him to the Corporation and others, throwing light on his character. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer gave a brief account of the early life of Dr. Waterhouse and read from the doctor's diary comments on Cambridge, the College, and the prominent men of the early part of the nineteenth century.

Our Spring meeting took the form of a centenary celebration once more, this time in honor of our Cambridge-born poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D. On April 27, 1909, Sanders Theatre was filled to overflowing by an attentive audience, many of whom stood during the entire evening.

The chairman of the meeting, President Charles William Eliot, was introduced in a few happy words by our President, Richard H. Dana, Esq. On the platform, besides the members of the Council, and the professors of the University, there were seated one hundred doctors, from Boston and the neighborhood, graduates of the Harvard Medical School during the time that Dr. Holmes was professor there. They followed the speakers with the keenest interest, often nodding their approval or applauding, as some familiar trait of their old teacher was alluded to; the grandson of the poet, Edward Jackson Holmes, was also present.

The first speaker, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, gave anecdotes illustrating the social side of Dr. Holmes's character. Two songs, the words of which were written by Dr. Holmes, "Union and Liberty" and "The Angel of Peace," were sung by the Harvard Glee Club. The instrumental music was furnished by the orchestra of the Cambridge Latin School.

Professor David Williams Cheever, both student and assistant under Dr. Holmes, gave a vivid word picture of the professor as he appeared in the lecture room. He was followed by Edward Waldo Emerson, M.D., a personal friend of the poet, who spoke of his recollections of his father's friend and his teacher. Charles Townsend Copeland read "The Last Leaf" and "The Chambered Nautilus."

The meeting closed with the address of Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, who brought before us in a masterly manner the humorist and Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. In connection with the centenary an exhibition was held in the Cambridge Public Library under the charge of our curator, Mr. Clarence W. Ayer. Here were shown many personal relics of Dr. Holmes and a large number of books which displayed the versatility of the man,—poet, humorist, physician, teacher, and inventor.

We all know how much Professor Charles Eliot Norton thought of the giving of the Longfellow medal to the schoolchildren of Cambridge, and the Council would suggest that the attention of children eligible to this competition should be called to the conditions just before the Christmas holidays. The time of the children is so much occupied during school terms that it is almost impossible for them to do any outside work, but in vacation days they might find time for, at least, the necessary research.

The Society has lost by death three regular members: Mr. Leander Moody Hannum, Miss Carrie Frances Abbott, and Mr. Legh Richmond Pearson, who after he had severed his connection with the Social Union, where he had so faithfully served for many years as librarian, and had removed to North Reading, never failed to be present at our meetings. One Associate member, Miss Charlotte Alice Baker, of Boston and Deerfield, Massachusetts, has also been called away. Miss Baker was interested in all things connected with the past; she formerly lived on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Holmes Place.

We have at present on our roll 13 Associate, 3 Honorary, and 187 regular members.

The Council feels deeply the loss which the retirement of Frank Gaylord Cook, Esq., from the office of Secretary entails. He has held the office from the beginning of our work, and it has been

largely owing to his unflagging devotion to the best interests of the Society that the three centenary celebrations were so successfully carried through. He has been ever fertile in suggestions of subjects for the regular meetings, and most happy in the choice of speakers, whom he could make accept his invitation in spite of themselves. The Council regrets that he feels obliged to withdraw from the place he has so acceptably filled, and hopes that it may still have his valuable advice and assistance.

Once more we feel called upon to speak of the needs of the Society. We have as yet no fund for the publication of original documents, a matter whose importance was brought before you two years ago. We are still without a local habitation. Our ideal would be one of the old pre-revolutionary houses, with a fireproof brick building in the rear for our records, or else a fine brick or stone building situated in an open space, with hall attached,—a standing need in this community. Before our eyes is a vision of a spacious room, in which are gathered the relics of the past, a library where historians and genealogists may find all they need, rooms and halls where the work of the Society may be carried on; in fact, an Historical Society home of which Cambridge would not be ashamed. Alas! all this lies in the future, how far off we know not, nor do we know the names of the generous donor or donors who will make our fair vision a reality. But let us have the vision and strive for its realization. Let us collect all the relics of bygone days that we can, in the faith that some day they will be suitably housed. Let us make records, while there is still time, of those worthy men and women who have trodden these streets where we now tread; let us keep their memories green and, in the fulness of time, some one, seeing our faith and our diligence, will come forward and give us all we need.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

PERHAPS the most conspicuous and certainly the most exacting duty of the Secretary the past year was in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of the Birth of Dr. Holmes, on the 27th of April last.

This was the fourth public celebration in Sanders Theatre by the Society since its foundation. The first occurred December 21, 1905, on the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Cambridge, and is reported in our Publications I.; the second, February 27, 1907, upon the one hundredth anniversary of Longfellow's birth, and the third, May 27, 1907, on the similar anniversary of Agassiz's birth, are both reported in our Publications II.

While all these meetings aroused great interest and fulfilled public expectation, the fourth may better be compared with the second in some respects. Both the Longfellow and the Holmes meetings crowded Sanders Theatre as have no other meetings held there in recent years. In each meeting the attention of the great audience was held with unflagging interest and to a late hour; and the addresses were of great value, not alone for their literary finish, force, and charm, but also for their singular fitness and their personal quality. It is interesting to note that at all four meetings the majority of the speakers were Cambridge men. Indeed it would seem that the Society was started just in time to employ our distinguished home talent upon these great but rare occasions. The result has been fortunate and valuable. In these meetings the Society has found unusual opportunities and has discovered its own capacity and usefulness; the community has been educated and entertained; and the interesting origin of Cambridge and the memory of several of her distinguished sons have been justly exalted.

The future, however, offers a different, although on the whole a no less interesting, field. Important centenaries, though frequent of late, are about exhausted, at least for the present; and a work, larger, more varied, and fully as important, lies before us, and demands much more attention than it has thus far received. And that is the patient, systematic study and publication of the development, characteristics, and influence of the life, social, political, educational, and commercial, of our community, and the steady collection of books, manuscripts, and other memorabilia pertaining to the same as an instrument for the education of its youth and as a means of the preservation of the history and treasures of its past.

But not only is this work laid out for us. We have also the

men and women to do it; and we have in our annual Publication and in our long list of valuable exchanges a suitable channel for the publication and preservation of this work. The immediate need is that our special standing committees be constituted with much care and be kept steadily at work. Through them, supplemented by the interest and contributions of individuals, must this work be done. If this work be done, the Society will be of great service and of constantly increasing influence.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

WITHIN the past year the Society is fortunate in being able to show a considerable increase in the number of books, pamphlets, and other material of special interest which have been received, and a list of which will appear, each under the name of its donor, in the forthcoming volume of Proceedings.

The growing collection of the Society has been kept in the Cambridge Public Library. It is there placed in locked drawers of the inner Cambridge room and on shelves in a small room directly over the main entrance which is closed to the public, alongside of the collection of the Hannah Winthrop chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. As the Cambridge room collection of the Public Library has already taken nearly all the available space, the collection of the Society will soon have to be placed entirely in the closed room above, in which there is still ample accommodation. This will always be at the disposal of the Society until it may have other housing for its collection, and, it is to be hoped, a building of its own, either in close connection with the Public Library on the same ground, or distinct from it in some other part of the city.

Under these conditions the collection of the Society has not been easily accessible to such members as might have cared to make use of it. Up to this time, moreover, it has consisted entirely of gifts, and their only record is the list contained in each volume of the Proceedings under the head of the donor rather than of the author, title, or subject. It will be a new experience for the Society to *buy* its first book, and it is to be hoped that a

special fund will be forthcoming which will make possible the purchase of all matter of local interest and association which is not likely to come to the Society by gift.

The Society's collection has now become so considerable that it ought at once to be made available for convenient use. All books and all pamphlets of sufficient size and importance should be separately bound, and all pamphlets of a few leaves and matter on single leaves, all photographs, and other similar matter should be placed in paper holders, stiff envelopes, or clipping sheets, such as are in use so advantageously in the Harvard College Library under the supervision of its librarian, Mr. William C. Lane. For the safe registry of each gift a date stamp is necessary. After the various forms of gift have been suitably protected by covers of some kind, a system of numbering should be employed, simplified and adapted from the best now in use, which might lead to classification and cataloguing along recognized lines, with desirable modifications of special details. The first expenditure under this head should be made for adequate binding or covering of all the items of the collection, rather than for cataloguing, as some might assume. Under the latter head will follow obviously a considerable task, which will require further expenditure for its completion.

At the winter session of the Council of the Society it was voted to expend the sum of twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) for the purpose of making the collection available for its members, and Mr. Lane and the Curator were appointed a committee of two to consider the proper scope of the Society's collection and methods of making it most serviceable and valuable to its users. This Committee has met and examined the whole collection, and with the consent and approval of its other member, Mr. Lane, the Curator presents, as being also in substance its report to the Council, the following classes of works as outlining the proper scope and necessary limitations of this Society's collection:

1. Books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc. by or about Cambridge people.
2. Books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc. relating to, or illustrative of Cambridge historical and local associations.
3. Publications of historical societies received in exchange or by purchase.

4. A limited collection of reference books relating to American history, including local history of neighboring towns, or towns with which Cambridge has been associated.

5. Early Cambridge imprints.

6. Portraits, photographs, etc. of Cambridge people.

7. Views of Cambridge.

8. Objects of historical interest or association with Cambridge life.

The Committee also recommends that duplicates and other matter received as gifts and not thought advisable to keep should be disposed of as might seem for the best interests of the Society, either to be given to the Cambridge Public Library or to other institutions. If the plan outlined above is consistently carried out, the collection of the Cambridge Historical Society will, it is assured, make its best possible development, and it will gain especially in compactness and individuality by its exclusion of considerable extraneous matter which is inevitably received by all historical societies, but which it has been so often thought necessary to include in their collections.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

CASH ACCOUNT

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1908-1909.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 26 October, 1908		\$228.61
Admission Fees	\$56.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members . . .	\$570.00	
Associate Members . . .	26.00	596.00
Interest	6.85	
Society's Publications sold	12.15	671.00
		<u>\$899.61</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

University Press, printing Publications III	\$384.91		
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices, envelopes, postal cards, etc.	33.10		
A. W. Elson and Company, relief plate of Plan of Harvard College Yard	13.00		
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, paper for Publications	39.28		
James W. Mudge, stenography	10.00		
Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service	5.00		
Thomas Groom and Company, blanks, envelopes and India ink	5.00		
Carter, Rice and Company, envelopes	1.15		
Walter K. Monroe, services	2.00		
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00		
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting	65.45		
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting	13.00		
M. E. Hughes, typewriting . . . . .	.70		
Postage and collection fees	43.10	\$640.69	
Holmes Celebration :			
C. C. Lilly, distributing programmes	\$2.00		
Samuel Usher, badges	3.50		
Cambridge Coach Company	2.00		
Cambridge Latin School Orchestra, transportation	1.60		
George H. Kent, blank book . . . . .	.85		
Caustic-Claffin Company, programmes and posters	19.00		
S. M. Farnum and Company, engraved plate of invitation and printing	18.90		
Empire Ticket Company, tickets	2.50		
Suffolk Engraving and Electrotyping Company, vignette of Dr. Holmes	3.00		
William H. Eveleth, taking tickets	3.00		
John Feeny, transporting Holmes relics	2.00		
Briggs & Briggs, musical scores	5.25		
Typewriting and stenography :			
James W. Mudge	\$10.75		
E. M. Bullard	13.74	24.49	88.09
			\$728.78
Balance on deposit, 26 October, 1909			170.83
			<u>\$899.61</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

CAMBRIDGE, 26 October, 1909.

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I HEREBY certify that I have examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year ending this day and find them to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the Cash Balance.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,

Auditor.

CAMBRIDGE, 26 October, 1909.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year :

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,
FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW,
RICHARD HENRY DANA,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,
HENRY HERBERT EDES,
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,

EDWARD HENRY HALL,
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.	1
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.	
<i>Secretary</i>	FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW.	
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.	
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.	

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES read the following paper :

THE LAWRENCE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL

IN 1848 Mr. Abbott Lawrence sent to the Treasurer of Harvard University a remarkable letter. At the time of the inauguration of his grandson Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Bishop William Lawrence had this letter printed and presented a copy of it to each person who was present at the dinner given by the Alumni of the School, on Tuesday evening the 4th of October, to the scientific delegates to the inauguration. I call this a remarkable letter, for it was one of the first of its kind ever written in this country and marked the beginning of a new era in education.

At this time only sixty years ago what is now known as the laboratory method of instruction was almost unknown except in a few schools in Europe. The College was still jogging along in the old scholastic ruts. That which was good enough for the fathers was good enough for the sons.

Persons preparing for the learned professions, as they were called, might study Hebrew, Greek, and Latin grammar, dabble in history, as it was written, and learn a little logic and mathematics, in all but little more than is now required to graduate from a good high school. As to any study of these subjects beyond the mere textbook, that was not even thought of by the Faculty, much less by the students.

The letter of Mr. Lawrence, which I understand was written with the assistance of Mr. Storrow, must have fallen like a bomb-shell into the pastures where the professors were wont to wander mid the flowers of ancient learning. Indeed I have heard it intimated that one professor, who was rather fond of investigations on his own account, was warned that the College did not employ investigators but teachers.

But the prize of \$50,000 thus dropping from the sky was too large to be ignored, and was therefore gratefully accepted and acknowledged as a most munificent gift; it was up to that time the largest gift that the College had ever received. As showing the ideas prevailing at the time, I quote from the letter the following sentence; "The buildings I have supposed, without having made estimates, could be erected, including an extensive

laboratory, for about thirty thousand dollars." Although Mr. Lawrence was mistaken in regard to the sum necessary to endow the school, he was not mistaken in the necessity for such a school.

At that time the only technical school in America was the one at Troy, which was mainly devoted, as it still is, to teaching Engineering.

No college in the land had conceived the idea that chemistry, physics, and natural history were live studies, that must be taught by living teachers and not by the study of text-books and recitations on their contents, supplemented at times by a course of lectures by the professor, who too frequently told his students that the experiment should have succeeded, but that for some unknown reason it had not. As for a student experimenting for himself, that was not to be thought of for a moment, as apparatus was expensive and it might be broken. The only chance he ever had to experiment for himself was to obtain an appointment as an assistant to the professor. This often was very convenient for the professor, for if things did not go as they should, it was easy to lay the failure to his assistant. The poor assistant had no redress.

This was all changed by Mr. Lawrence's donation. Students were admitted to the School, and actually furnished with apparatus which they could break and pay for, and they learned in chemistry how easy it was to blow up a hydrogen generator or to burn themselves with nitric or sulphuric acid. The engineering students were put at work making actual surveys and planning bridges and railroads and such other mercenary work. The professor of natural history no longer showed a few dried specimens, but expected the students to furnish fresh specimens and study them afterwards.

The School existed under these conditions from the time it was founded until about forty years ago. It was primarily a school for advanced students or students who wished to do advanced work and not for beginners. There were few required studies, the courses being almost all elective. The men who came to the School came because they had a special object in so doing.

It was during the first twenty years of its life that the School had its greatest teachers and turned out its most noted graduates. At that time there seemed to be a great indifference in regard to

taking a degree, and many men who afterwards made a mark in the world left without obtaining a degree.

The greatest influence in the start of the new School was the fact that Louis Agassiz came to America about the time it was founded. His coming marked a new era in science. Joined to a great love for his own studies, he had an equally great love for imparting his knowledge to others. Those who knew him could not resist the charm of his manner. As a lecturer he always drew a crowded house, composed in many instances of those who understood but little of what he said, but who were attracted by his enthusiastic manner, and who cared but little about what he was saying so long as they could hear him talk. It was my good fortune to see him almost daily for some years, and he always came in with a cheery good morning and some pleasant words. One of my most cherished possessions is a letter he gave me at a time I was applying for a professorship.

While with most of you Agassiz is but a name, with those of us who met him personally, it was far more than the name of a professor, it was the name of one who always made you feel that he had a warm personal interest in what you were doing.

Associated with Agassiz from the first until 1863 was another professor who had also a strong personality and was able to instil into his students a love for his profession.

Eben Norton Horsford at the time he came to the School was fresh from the teachings of the famous chemist Justus Liebig, who only a few years before at Giessen had founded the first laboratory for the practical teaching of chemistry. Horsford was a great admirer of his teacher, and it is said that when he was about to leave Giessen the other students hunted up an old pair of Liebig's shoes and placed them on his desk. When he inquired about the shoes they told him that the Herr Professor had sent them to him as the only one of his students that was worthy to stand in them.

But with a growing family he was unable to live on the meagre income of his professorship, and so was forced to resign his position. This was probably fortunate for him, as he entered into mercantile pursuits and became wealthy. But he was an investigator all his life, having a private laboratory in his house, in which I spent some pleasant hours listening to his explanations

of work that he was engaged upon. Among his students who afterwards became noted, I will mention George C. Caldwell, who graduated in 1855, under whom I commenced the study of chemistry in 1864 at the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, and who for many years was the honored professor of Agricultural Chemistry at Cornell; Professor Francis H. Storer, for many years Dean of the Bussey Institute; Cyrus M. Warren, who was Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and early became noted for his studies on the mineral oils; James M. Crafts, who also was a professor at the Institute of Technology and at one time President; John Williams Langley, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Michigan; Professor Charles F. Chandler, of Columbia College, New York, who was practically the founder of the School of Mines connected with that institution.

Many of the earlier students of chemistry went to Europe to finish their studies, but they were initiated into the science by Professor Horsford.

I have said less in regard to Professor Agassiz's students than of those of Professor Horsford, since Professor Agassiz's students or those who studied under his students are scattered over the world, —to-day some of them still teaching; others having passed over the great divide. One of the most noted of them, Professor Shaler, was known to you all. Professors Putnam and Niles are still with us, and Professor Morse has not yet found the way to Mars. But the list is too long to notice more of them.

Professor Horsford was succeeded by Dr. Wolcott Gibbs. Dr. Gibbs was not a popular lecturer and was but little known outside of his laboratory in Cambridge. In regard to his teaching I quote from Professor Clarke's notice of him in the "Journal of the London Chemical Society": "Gibbs apparently believed, although his belief was not stated in set terms, that a good teacher who kept in touch with his pupils should know perfectly well where they stood, and no examination could tell him anything more." He never gave any examinations, except the final one for a degree, and this was a mere formality that had to be observed to conform to the regulations of the School. I well remember my own examination. It was mainly verbal, largely free translations from French and German text-books and some pleasant talk about

work that I had been engaged upon. My thesis was ready for publication, for this was a point on which he insisted that some original work must have been done. In my case it was the translating and editing and extending Hoffmann's Chemical Tables. But my degree by no means ended my work in the School. I was invited to come back and spend another term as his private assistant. This was followed by three delightful years as his assistant in the School,—years in which, while nominally an assistant, I was a student as well, working in lines that he suggested.

Our course of study, if it could be called a course, would be regarded by many modern teachers as entirely lacking in all the essentials of a regular study. We had but one text-book in use; that was Fresenius' "Qualitative Analysis." One rule was thoroughly enforced: no student was to take up a new subject till he had mastered the old.

I remember keeping one student who has since done much work of a high grade a whole year on qualitative analysis,—a study that he should have finished in six months; but he knew it when he got through, and his course in life has since been distinguished by the same slow, painstaking study, until now he stands at the head of his profession in his chosen branch of study.

Dr. Gibbs had during his active teaching only four assistants; they have all since held professorships. He afterwards had three or four more assistants; two of these at present hold full professorships, and a third is engaged in research work of a high grade under the government at Washington.

Most of the doctor's students have done credit to his teaching. One of them was President of the Colorado School of Mines for many years. Another is chief chemist of the Geological Survey at Washington; another is Professor of Chemistry and Dean of the School of Graduate Studies in Columbian University and government expert on high explosives.

Professor Eustis was appointed Professor of Engineering in 1849 and held the office until his death in 1885. His department had the most students, and the men who graduated from it were generally at once put to work. As an instance the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad had a standing order for two students

a year. Professors Pickering and Trowbridge both graduated from this department.

The most noted student that the school produced was perhaps Simon Newcomb, who has recently passed away, full of honors.

Dr. Gray had a few special students who have occupied high positions.

To Dr. Jeffries Wyman must be given the credit of introducing the laboratory method into the study of anatomy, and his students have won for themselves a high position in the science of medicine. Of these I need only mention Drs. Walcott, Bowditch, and Carmalt, who has long been a professor at Yale.

At the time the franchise was bestowed on the graduates of the School, President Eliot, congratulating us on having won a long fight (we were over twenty years endeavoring to be put on the same standing as the graduates of the academic department) said to us, "For your numbers you have more distinguished graduates among you than any other department of the University."

The School has practically ceased to exist. The University now grants the S.B. degree to students in the academic department, giving the student the choice of an A.B. or S.B. degree, and the Alumni no longer make any distinction between the degrees.

But the work so well inaugurated by the old School will still go forward on even a higher plane in the Graduate School, assisted by the funds of the McKay bequest, and students will still have the chance to pursue in the University the studies which the School was founded to promote, with the great advantage that they will be much better fitted by previous training to take advantage of the opportunities offered. They will still have the advantages that we had, that they can devote their entire time to the study of their chosen vocation. But they will have the still further advantage of abundant material to work with, while many times we had to either abandon our experiments or devise apparatus and methods by which we could carry them on in a primitive manner. Where a student can now obtain almost anything he wishes in a few hours, we often had to wait weeks for supplies. This may have been a disadvantage, but on the other hand it had certain advantages. We were forced to devise the means to accomplish our ends. If we wanted oxygen, we had to make it; now we can buy it by the

gallon ready for use. We had no supply of electricity; we had illuminating gas, but we did not know how to use it as we do to-day. The first gas furnaces in the School were put there after I graduated, and at that time we were still using charcoal to make combustions. The first assay furnace in the School was built by Mr. Pettee in 1868 in order to instruct the students in assaying. Filtering with the vacuum pump was introduced about 1869, and the first determinations of nitrogen ever made by use of a sprengel pump were made in 1867. In order to confirm the results of these experiments I had to build my own pump in 1868. The outfit of the School, even as late as 1870, was no better than the ordinary high school possesses. The entire outfit furnished each student, with the exception of the balances, did not exceed twenty dollars; he furnished his own platinum crucible. But with this limited amount of material research work was carried on which has stood the test of time.

The influence of the School on education in this country is hardly to be estimated. Its methods have revolutionized the University, and it has been well said that, instead of the University absorbing the School, the School has absorbed the University. For now the methods that were introduced in the School are used all through the University, and every professor uses to a greater or less extent the laboratory method, teaching his students how to use his material, rather than to memorize text-books. Many think that the system has been carried too far, and that a student should be better grounded in the elements of education before entering into advanced studies of his own choosing. And in this view they are undoubtedly right. A man cannot be too well trained in his preliminary studies before he undertakes his life work. On the other hand, a certain latitude is permissible in these preliminary studies; they should many of them be chosen with a certain end in view. As an illustration for a student of chemistry or engineering, it is almost indispensable that he should have a good reading knowledge of French, German, and English, and if he intends to make mining his specialty he should also understand Spanish. In this connection I will mention what we did in our course of German in the school, and in this we rather had the advantage of the teacher. We took the matter into our own hands and required

him to use a German chemical work. Here we had the advantage that we understood the text much better than he did, and we soon learned to translate this work with comparative ease, whereas, had we taken a course in literary German, we should have been no better off at the end of the course than at the beginning.

The great trouble in the new facilities for advanced studies will be, as President Lowell has ably said, that it will tend to build up a generation of teachers who are well learned in all that has been done before, but who will lack the initiative to go ahead and do things for themselves. The education that we received from the old School was not so much the study of what had been done, but the power to think and reason on what we were doing, and to initiate new work. Those of us who afterwards taught taught not so much because we had been educated to teach as because we had found out something that we felt we must impart to others. Each of us imbibed something of the enthusiasm of our masters and tried to hand it on to our students.

ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE read the following letters from Willard Phillips to Octavius Pickering:

BOSTON, October 1, '48.

MY DEAR PICKERING

. . . It is Sunday, as you will see by the date, and Madame and I out of respect to my code have been entertaining ourselves with *Battle of Buena Vista* written by Capt. Carleton, who was in it. There is something exceedingly chivalrous and romantic to me in this whole episode of the Mexican War which we have just finished. One of our neighbors, a mason, had a son out there who was orderly to Gen. Pillow and has just returned, who furnishes his father with innumerable incidents and anecdotes to relate to me to my great entertainment.

If Wm. Prescott would collect the materials, he might write another *Conquest* as dramatic as the first. There is surely something taking in this military rushing, crushing and smashing; we shall follow the examples of the beasts awhile yet; the Peace Societies will not abolish set-toes in our time entirely. Love and war, that's the "humor on 't," in Pistol's phrase. . . .

Dexter [Franklin] is giving lectures once a week in the Law School on Constitutional Law and as I understand with good success. Par-

sons started as successor of Greenleaf with much *éclat* and will really be quite an acquisition to our society in Cambridge.

I always persuade myself that when H. is old enough for College you will take a place here and besides a little patch of Mt. Auburn for yourself and your's in the neighborhood of our's. I do not go entirely with the Southerner who visited the place the other day and said he should be willing to die tomorrow if he could be buried there, but the thought of an everlasting home for one's dust in a beautiful spot near to one's friends on a final rallying point for one's posterity, presents the dark future with rather a pleasing aspect, especially if one tinctures himself with the sentiments of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*.

Boston, February 4, 1849.

MY DEAR PICKERING

The lady on my left has not failed to remind me divers times to acknowledge the writing desk received by Rosset [*sic*] of which she is sufficiently proud on account both of its beauty and its donor and is at no pains to conceal either the article or her own satisfaction from our friends.

Sparks, who is now president as you know, except the ceremony of inauguration, reminded me the other evening of a tract I wrote for President Kirkland in 1815, 33 years ago, on the arrangement of the college studies which he copied for President K. and desired to recover now for his own use, if any he can make of it, which put me upon my old papers where to my surprise I found the same, though I had forgotten the thing myself. The search brought me back to college. — Aureus Ramus Essays, some forensics to Mr. Hedge, one or two exhibition parts and Commencement — Journal now and then — Memoranda or reading — reflections — projects — new views *videlicet* — things begun and half finished, all which was very much like visiting this world long after death, for it was a resurrection of these old and to me dead things [Judge Phillips in his latest years was a spiritualist].

Among the rest I recovered a character of Strong¹ which I wrote for some paper, I know not what one, the memory of whom is both sorrowful and delightful to me. I do not remember how intimate you and he were. You certainly must have loved him. I could sincerely repeat for him David's lament for Jonathan. Sparks will commence very auspiciously and if he can bring in with himself sufficient *authority*, his administration will be likely to go off with *éclat*, for his election is very

¹ Edward Strong (Harvard 1810), died 1813.

popular with the college and the public and he is precisely fitted for the place if he has enough of firmness and skill in discipline.

We are all afloat here in Shakespeare with Fanny Butler,¹ as you will see by the papers. Her tickets are all taken before they are put on sale and her readings are certainly the finest treats. We have had her for a long while. But in Shylock one remembers old Cooke² and nobody can read against that. And then we have had superlative concerts and oratorios, Madame Anna Bishop,³ Laborde, a German Band, &c. &c. We are revelling in sweet sounds. Pray let us take you along with us.

March 23

. . . The reason is I am partly busy and partly lazy. I work mornings in materials for a new edition of my insurance by and by. Go to Boston at 10 A.M., read or rather hear the news from 4 to 5 or 6, except when asleep and hear some book till I fall asleep unless something offers abroad.

This is my journal for the whole year except Sundays and occasional digressions — One of my exceptions is the first Tuesday evening of the month when the American Academy holds social meetings at the house of some member, last month at F. C. Lowell's, February at John A. Lowell's, April to be at C. G. Loring's and May probably at Abbott Lawrence's, at whose house we were to have met in March, but he was called to Washington to be offered a place in President Taylor's cabinet, and declined it as the newspapers all show you. These meetings are really very pleasant as well as useful by way of instruction, and commonly have more matters prepared than can be disposed of. Last meeting Everett read the correspondence concerning the award of the King of Prussia's Court medal to Miss Mitchell of Nantucket, whose father was present at the meeting.

Professor Pierce presented the calculations of the young prodigy of mathematics at school here, now 11 or 12 years old, of the orbit of the late Comet, whose period he made 800,000 years, if I remember right, on a piece of paper about between eight and ten feet in length, the width of half a sheet of letter paper, taking the boy he thought fifteen hours to do, in doing which he made some condensations and short cuts which the old mathematicians arrived at only through immense study

¹ Fanny Kemble Butler, born in London, 1809; died in London, Jan. 13, 1893.

² George Frederick Cooke, born April 17, 1756; died in New York, Sept. 26, 1811.

³ Born in 1814; died in New York, March 18, 1884.

and training and this he does without being conscious of doing anything extraordinary. He is employed mostly on the usual studies, language, geography, grammar — usually taking a little mathematics of Pierce as above occasionally; and finally after some other matters that I forget, Dr. Warren¹ introduced the question whether ether or chloroform is to be preferred, he for ether and Dr. Channing² comes out for chloroform, but the discussion is broken off by ten o'clock until next month, when we shall have enough of it, for the doctors you know are always very brisk in these encounters. — I was at the chapel today, Sparks being in the President's pew. All acquiesce in his election very cheerfully. Theophilus Parsons is here now and makes quite an accession to Cambridge society. He and Treadwell are both going to build this season next Dixwell on the street leading up to the Botanic Garden, so that we shall have a very strong neighborhood. Dexter is lecturing on International Law, as you know, at the law school. Prof. Judge Parker tells me that his lectures are very good, and Parsons began very well indeed and holds on, so I believe. I have given myself to dissipation somewhat this winter, having heard Mrs. Fanny Butler eight times. I think out of thirteen, twice with Madam, twice with Quincy and most of the other times with Mrs. Farrar, and to-morrow I am going with a young divine and the two boys, wind and weather permitting, to the opera. So we go. I begin to think I must make the most of my time as often as I look at our table of expectations of life and so I am sharp to improve such temptations as come in the way. We are all prodigiously delighted with our president as you see. You can hardly conceive of the relief and satisfaction we feel without coming over to participate.

I have a pretty little collection of books to show when you come over again, more than I shall ever read, I am afraid, small as it is, unless they send out fewer new ones, most of which come round in our book club, and I must read but need not remember longer than a month or two when they are forgotten. I have on the table here now, just come in, Miss Connor's immense octavo History of China and India, but I guess I shall cut it, not the leaves but the book.

Remember me to Mrs. P. and Master Henry. Pray bring them over here. Mrs. Phillips sends her regards to yourself and them.

Yours affectionately,

WILLARD PHILLIPS.

¹ John Collins Warren (Harvard 1797), died 1856.

² Walter Channing (Harvard 1808), died 1876.

ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE also read the following extracts from the Journal of Eliza Susan Quincy :

June 3, 1825. During the years Mr. Quincy was arranging the affairs of the city, as Mayor of Boston, Mr. Bowditch was equally active in . . . those of Harvard College as one of the Corporation. . . . Ebenezer Francis, an eminent financier, had been elected Treasurer, and Dr. Bowditch was earnestly seeking an available candidate for the President. And when on the 16th of December, 1828, Mr. Quincy published a letter, stating that he would never stand again for the Mayoralty, Mrs. Bowditch immediately said to him, "There's a President for you." Dr. Bowditch approved of the nomination, and took measures accordingly. He had several interviews with Mr. Quincy and informed him that the Corporation wished to elect him President of Harvard College if he would accept the appointment. Mr. Quincy was favorably inclined, but to Mrs. Quincy a proposition that she should leave both her homes, in Boston and Quincy, and take her family, comprising her mother of 90 and her daughter of 17, and take up her residence in the College grounds at Cambridge, was a most formidable enterprise.

But Dr. Bowditch came and gave us an account of all he had done, suffered and accomplished . . . and evinced such independence, energy, and disinterestedness that it was impossible not to comply with his wishes. "There has," said Dr. Bowditch, "a great deal been wasted and lost at Cambridge, but there is a noble property left. Mr. Francis and I have put the finances in order, and if you ladies will only let Mr. Quincy go there, the Corporation will do everything for you. You may begin at the ridge pole of the President's House and do what you choose with it and if Mr. Francis does not do everything you request, we will turn him out, and elect another Treasurer." (This was amusing, for Mr. Francis was just as anxious to send us to Cambridge as Dr. Bowditch was himself.) "I think the ladies of the President's family have an important place, and I wish you to take it."

Dr. Bowditch prevailed, and on the 15th of January, 1829, Mr. Quincy was unanimously elected by the Corporation, President of Harvard College, and on the 29th of January carriages and numer-

ous people tending to the State House showed that business of importance was pending, and at two o'clock N. I. Bowditch, Jr. came to Hamilton Place to inform us that the Overseers of the College had confirmed the election of Mr. Quincy as President. And was soon followed by a Committee of Overseers, with the official notice.

At 4 o'clock Mr. Francis came in his carriage and took Mr. Quincy to Cambridge to look at the President's house. He invited me to accompany them, but I declined. On that evening Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Otis had a splendid party at their residence in Beacon Street, the first they had given since they had attained the Mayoralty — and at which we were congratulated on Mr. Quincy's election as President of Harvard. It was a remarkable and very pleasant occasion.

On the 30th of January we met Mr. Francis, by appointment, at the President's house. It was a dark, cold winter morning, the snow on the ground, the house uninhabited for several years, and very much out of repair. Some one had wound up a large old clock, a gift to the Presidents, and its ticking seemed to make the silence and desertion of the apartments more apparent. However we were not discouraged, and my father said, "We are not responsible for the house, and we will make it lively enough." Mrs. Quincy only requested plain dark marble mantle pieces, in the dining and drawing rooms, and a general clean surface of paint, paper, and whitewash. But though these were moderate requests, the Corporation had to expend about \$3,000 to make the house, stable, and grounds, neat and comfortable for us, and our horses. Dr. Bowditch came in the evening to ask how we liked the house, and was pleased we gave a favorable view of its capacity of improvement. He paid us frequent visits, and on the 25th of May, when the furniture wagons were at the door of Hamilton Place, came in to rejoice to see us so well employed and actually on the move.

We were soon established in our new abode, and were cordially received by the authorities of the College, the students and the general society of Cambridge. On the 2nd of June 1829, the day of the Inauguration, Mr. Quincy appeared to great advantage in the gown and cap of a President, and Dr. Bowditch as one of the

Corporation, and Mr. Francis with the Charter, seal and keys of the College, as Treasurer, held places of importance in the Church, which was crowded with a distinguished and brilliant audience. And a crowded levee at the President's house and a beautiful illumination of the College grounds closed a day which was aptly termed a day of enthusiasm.

ROBERT SWAIN MORISON read the following letter written by Edward Everett Hale¹ in Worcester, Massachusetts, to George J. Abbot in Washington, District of Columbia:

Nov. 22, 1845.

I supposed you would be interested in the New England Society, when I saw the account of its formation. If I read Washington rightly, it was and is fast becoming a Northern city. The influx of Northern mechanics is far more worth than the influx of Southern gentles and spending men. This country over, I take it, such relics of aristocracy as the revolution spared, are vanishing before the principles of our constitution and the times, and the aristocracy of office, though all Virginia should back it up, will not *tell* anywhere, in contrast with the influence of shoemakers, and glaziers, and printers and writers, and thinkers and ministers or other teachers. So go ahead, Yankees! and help down the Southern influence and notions as quickly and as gently as you may.

My uncle has accepted the Presidency. My love for the college, and my love for him divided me in my hopes about it. All things considered, I think he has the best chance of resuscitating it and galvanizing it of any man we have, but it is a thankless, hard-working, despondent, sad dog's life office. You need a literary man there;—but there is little chance to give him literary employment. You need a man of the world, who knows the world; yet you must seclude him from the world. You need a man of practical views,—yet his employment is to separate him from all active life. You need a man of energy, and yet his whole energy is to be spent in waking up, every hour, thirty

¹ Mr. Hale, though six years out of college, was at this time only twenty-three years old. Mr. Abbot then had a boys' school in Washington; during most of his life he was connected in different ways with the State Department. In Dr. Hale's "Memories of a Hundred Years" he refers several times to the friendship between him and Mr. Abbot, to whom, he says, it was due that he preached in the Washington Unitarian church for five months in the fall and winter preceding the time this letter was written.

sleepy professors, and treading on the toes of six hundred rebellious boys. You need a firm, fervent, devoted Christian, — but if it prove that on any controverted question of Christian faith he has any opinion, there are a dozen newspapers ready to call him false, a swindler, and an infidel. If they had offered me the office I would have taken it now; — but if I were fifty two years of age, with property and a family of children, and willing to use the rest of my life in such permanent labor as should tell through all time, — and then the office had been proffered me at a time when every man's hand was raised against the college, — why then — if I had seen my way clear that I should do great good in it I hope I should have taken it; — but I do not think I should. As it is, as I say, I am very glad that Mr. E. has accepted. And I *chuckle* daily and hourly to think how amazed . . . [certain professors] . . . and the rest of the sleepy, soulless dilettanti will be to find somebody near them who is awake, and knows their business better than they do themselves. The on dit is that the Divinity School is to be separated from the College. I have no faith in throwing such tubs to such whales. The whale who is spouting over and over again a frothy stream of talk about the sectarianism of the college does not wish to hold his peace, and will not be tempted to; — and as for the School, for such purpose or any, it is nearer the pill-box standard — than the tub.

When the foregoing letter had been read the meeting was dissolved.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 27, 1908 — October 26, 1909

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS . . .	"Col. John Quincy of Mount Wollaston, 1689-1767," by Daniel Munroe Wilson in collaboration with Charles Francis Adams
AMERICAN - IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. VIII, 1908-1909
AUBIN, HELEN W.	Wood from tree planted by Daniel Webster in Exeter, N. H., in 1796.
BATCHELDER, ISABEL	Photograph of Dr. Charles Follen
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY	Report of the Library Syndicate for year ending Dec. 31, 1908
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Annual Report, 1908
COLORADO, THE STATE HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF	Biennial Report, 1907-1908
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Annual Report, May, 1909
FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Proceedings, Vol. IV, 1908
GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT	John Foster, Earliest American Engraver, and First Boston Printer, 1909
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY	Collections, Vol. IV, Executive Series, Vol. I, Governor's Letter Books, 1818-1834
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. I, No. 2, July, 1908; No. 3, Oct., 1908; No. 4, Jan., 1909; Vol. II, No. 1, Apr., 1909; No. 2, July, 1909

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Papers read. Oct. 2, 1908, Vol. XII, No. 8; Nov. 13, 1908, No. 9; Dec. 4, 1908, No. 10; Jan. 8, 1909, Vol. XIII, No. 1; Feb. 5, 1909, No. 2; Mar. 5, 1909, No. 3; Apr. 2, 1909, No. 4; May 7, 1909, No. 5; June 4, 1909, No. 6; Sept. 3, No. 7
MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Proceedings, Jan. 23 to Dec. 10 1908
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Index to Proceedings, 2nd Series, 1884-1907
MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historical Register, Vol. XII, No. 1, Jan., 1909; No. 2, Apr., 1909; No. 3, July, 1909; No. 4, Oct., 1909.
MIDDLESEX COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Pamphlet, No. 7, May, 1909
MISSOURI, STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF	Missouri Historical Review, Vol. III, No. 2, Jan., 1909; No. 3, Apr., 1909
NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, Third Series, Vol. V, No. 3, July to Oct., 1908; Vol. VI, No. 1, Jan. to Apr., 1909; No. 2, July, 1909
NEW MEXICO, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF	Personal Narratives of the Battles of the Rebellion
NOBLE, WILLIAM M.	History of Newton from 1639 to 1800 by Francis Jackson
NORTON, MARGARET	Photograph of Francis Boott Copy of Programme of Memorial Service to same, Appleton Chapel, May 8, 1904, and engraving Photograph of Massachusetts Hall Photograph of Francis J. Child

*Donor*NORTON, MARGARET (*continued*)*Description*

Programmes:

- (1) Memorial Day Service, Sanders Theatre, May 30, 1900
- (2) Boston Symphony Orchestra Concert, Sanders Theatre, in memory of Francis J. Childs and Josiah D. Whitney, Oct. 29, 1896
- (3) Boston Symphony Orchestra Concert, Sanders Theatre, in memory of Mrs. Louis Agassiz, Nov. 14, 1907
- (4) Ceremonies at unveiling of monument to Col. Robert Gould Shaw, Music Hall, Boston, May 31, 1897
- (5) Commencement Radcliffe College, Sanders Theatre, June 26, 1900
- (6) Service of Music in Commemoration of birthday of James Russell Lowell, February 22, 1892

Address on Spanish War, by Charles Eliot Norton, before Men's Club of Prospect St. Congregational Church, clipping from Transcript, June 8, 1898

Address on Lowell Memorial, by Leslie Stephen, Westminster Abbey, from Harper's Weekly, Jan. 6, 1894

"Professor Child," by Grace Norton, reprint from New York Nation, Sept. 17, 1896

Engravings of William Lowell Putnam, Charles Follen, and Eliza Lee Follen

Roll of Students of Harvard College in Army and Navy in the War of the Rebellion

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Digest or Statutes and Ordinances of Massachusetts relating to Public Health, 1873 Historia, Vol. I, No. 1, Sept. 15, 1909 Manual for use of Board of Health of Massachusetts, 1882
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 3, Sept., 1908; No. 4, Dec., 1908; Vol. X, No. 1, March, 1909
PEABODY HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	"Capt. Samuel Flint and William Flint," 13th Annual Report, 1908-1909
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY (NEW YORK)	Year Book, 1909
READ, CHARLES F.	Proceedings, Brookline Historical Society, Jan. 26, 1909
SCHENECTADY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Year Book, 1906-1908
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON	University of Toronto Studies. Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada, Vol. XI, 1906; Vol. XII, 1907; Vol. XIII, 1908
SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND . . .	History of the German Society in Maryland, 1909
SYRACUSE PUBLIC LIBRARY . . .	Annual Report, Dec. 31, 1908
VERMONT, UNIVERSITY OF . . .	The Vermont Bulletin, Catalogue Number, 1908-1909
VINELAND (N. J.) HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY	Annual Report, 1908
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Virginia Magazine, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Apr., 1909; No. 3, July, 1909; No. 4, Oct., 1909
WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM R. . . .	Dunster Memorial, dedication of Dunster Memorial Tablet, Nov. 24, 1907, First Baptist Church in Boston

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
WILLARD, SUSANNA	Framed silhouette portrait of Rev. Joseph Willard, S.D.T., President of Harvard College Address to members of the Bar, Worcester County, Mass., Oct. 2, 1829, by Joseph Willard Address in Commemoration of the 200th Anniversary of the incorporation of Lancaster, Mass., by Joseph Willard, 1853 Memoir of Joseph Willard from Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1866-1867 Tribute to Major Sidney Willard, in the West Church, Dec. 21, 1862, Forefathers' Day. Copy of letter of Rev. John Secombe, H. U. 1728, written Mar. 30, 1729, to Nicholas Gilman of Exeter
WISCONSIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY	Wisconsin Archaeologist, Vol. VII, No. 4, October to December, 1908; Vol. VIII, No. 2, April to July, 1909
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings and collections, Vol. X Bronze medal struck at Centennial of first use of Wyoming coal, Feb. 11, 1908

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1909-1910

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. { ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. { ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
 HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, EDWARD HENRY HALL,
 FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
 RICHARD HENRY DANA, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
 ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
 HENRY HERBERT EDES, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
 WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1909-1910

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES,

EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,

EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART,

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

WILLIAM EBEN STONE,

JAMES ATKINS NOYES,

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,

EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

On Publication.

FRANCIS HILL BICELOW,

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,

HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,

MARGARET JONES BRADBURY,

GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,

ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA,

GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,

MARY HELEN DEANE,

SUSANNA WILLARD.

On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,

JOSEPH HENRY BEALE,

CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY
 *ABBOTT, CARRIE FRANCES
 *ABBOTT, EDWARD
 ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA
 ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS
 ALLEN, MARY WARE
 ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE
 ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE
 ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE
 AMES, JAMES BARR
 AUBIN, HELEN WARNER
 AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS
 AYER, CLARENCE WALTER

 BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL
 BAILEY, MARY PERSIS
 BAKER, GEORGE PIERCE
 BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS
 §BARKER, EDWARD TOBEY
 BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT
 BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER
 BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR
 BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS
 §BATCHELOR, GEORGE
 §BATCHELOR, PRISCILLA CUSHING
 BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY
 BELL, STOUGHTON
 BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL
 BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA
 BLAKE, JAMES HENRY
 BLISH, ARIADNE
 BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL
 §BOCHER, MADELEINE
 BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH
 BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES

§ Resigned.

BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHING-
 HAM
 BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN
 BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE
 BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS
 *BROOKS, LIZZIE EDNA
 *BROWN, JOHN GREENWOOD
 BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN

 CARRUTH, CHARLES THEODORE
 CARY, EMMA FORBES
 §CHAMPLIN, KATHARINE ELIZA
 CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
 §CLARKE, ELLEN DUDLEY
 §CLARKE, GEORGE KUHN
 COES, MARY
 COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
 §COGSWELL, FRANCIS
 COOK, FRANK GAYLORD
 CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
 COX, GEORGE HOWLAND
 §CROCKER, JOHN MYRICK
 CROTHERS, SAMUEL MCCORD
 CUTTER, WATSON GRANT

 DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBER-
 FORCE
 DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
 DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
 DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH LONG-
 FELLOW
 DANA, RICHARD HENRY
 DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND
 DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
 DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT

* Deceased.

DEANE, MARY HELEN
 DEANE, WALTER
 DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
 §DRESSER, CELINA LOUISA
 DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD
 DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
 EDES, HENRY HERBERT
 EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER
 ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
 ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
 ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
 ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
 EMERTON, EPHRAIM
 EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
 FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
 FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
 FISKE, ETHEL
 FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
 FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
 FORD, LILIAN FISK
 FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
 FOX, JABEZ
 FOXCROFT, FRANK
 §FREESE, JOHN WESLEY

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
 GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
 GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
 GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
 GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL
 HALL, EDWARD HENRY
 *HANNUM, LEANDER MOODY
 §HARRIS, CHARLES
 HARRIS, ELIZABETH
 §HARRIS, SARAH ELIZABETH
 HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL

§HASKINS, DAVID GREENE, JR.
 §HIGGINSON, MARY THACHER
 HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH
 HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS
 HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
 HODGES, GEORGE
 §HOOPES, WILFORD LAWRENCE
 HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON
 HORSFORD, KATHARINE
 HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING
 HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
 HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN
 HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY
 HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIXWELL
 HOWE, CLARA
 HUBBARD, PHINEAS
 §HULING, RAY GREENE

IRWIN, AGNES

JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY
 §JAGGAR, THOMAS AUGUSTUS

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY
 KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK
 §KERSHAW, FRANCIS STEWART
 KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON
 KIERNAN, THOMAS J

LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY
 LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE
 §LANSING, MARION FLORENCE
 LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
 LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY
 LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
 PREBLE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
 §MATHER, WINIFRED
 McDUFFIE, JOHN
 MCINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
 MCKENZIE, ALEXANDER

§ Resigned.

* Deceased.

MELLEGE, ROBERT JOB
 MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
 MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
 MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
 MORISON, ANNE THERESA
 MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
 MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN
 *NORTON, CHARLES ELIOT
 NORTON, GRACE
 NORTON, MARGARET
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINÉ, JAMES LEONARD
 PAINÉ, MARY WOOLSON
 §PARKE, HERVEY COKE, JR.
 PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
 PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS
 *PEARSON, LEGH RICHMOND
 *PEIRCE, JAMES MILLS
 PERRIN, FRANKLIN
 PERRIN, LOUISA CHARLOTTE
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
 *PICKERING, LIZZIE SPARKS
 PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
 §POPE, CHARLES HENRY
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN
 §PULSFORD, ARTHUR

RAND, HARRY SEATON
 *READ, ANNA MARIA
 READ, ELISE WELCH
 READ, JOHN
 READ, WILLIAM
 REARDON, EDMUND
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
 §ROCKWELL, ALICE TUFTS
 §ROCKWELL, JOHN ARNOLD
 ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES

§ Resigned.

ROPES, JAMES HARDY
 RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS

SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTINGTON
 *SAUNDERS, GEORGE SAVIL
 SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
 SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
 SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
 SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
 §SEVER, MARTHA
 §SEVER, MARY CAROLINE
 SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
 §SHEA, JAMES EDWARD
 §SHEFFIELD, MARY GERTRUDE
 §SIBLEY, BERTHA
 §SIBLEY, HENRY CLARK
 SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
 SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE
 STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
 STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
 STORER, SARAH FRANCIS
 SWAN, SARAH HODGES

§TAFT, CHARLES HUTCHINS
 §TAFT, EMILY HINCKLEY
 TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
 THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
 THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
 TICKNOR, FLORENCE
 TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
 TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOPKINS
 TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
 NOYES
 TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY
 *TOWER, CHARLES BATES

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
 VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN

WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
 WALCOTT, ROBERT

* Deceased.

WAMBAUGH, SARAH	WILLARD, SUSANNA
WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL	WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE	WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
LOCKE	§WINSOR, CAROLINE TUFTS
§WENTWORTH, WILLIAM HALL	WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT	WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
WESSELHOEFT, WALTER	WRIGHT, PAMELIA KEITH
§WESTON, ANSTIS	*WRIGHT, THEODORE FRANCIS
§WESTON, ROBERT DICKSON	§WYMAN, CAROLINE KING
WHITE, EMMA ELIZA	§WYMAN, MARGARET CURRY
WHITE, MOSES PERKINS	WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEWART	
WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICHARD- SON	YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER	JACOBS, ALLEN
*BAKER, CHARLOTTE ALICE	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	LOVERING, ERNEST
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREAD- WELL
DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN	NILES, WILLIAM HARMON
FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY	*WILLARD, JOSEPH
GILMAN, ARTHUR	WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED
GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY	

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

§ Resigned.

* Deceased.

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

V

PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 25—OCTOBER 25, 1910



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

1911

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
SEVENTEENTH MEETING	5
CERTAIN DEFECTS IN OUR HISTORICAL SOCIETIES	5
ADDRESS: WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD	5
EIGHTEENTH MEETING	21
LIEUTENANT JAMES DANA AT BUNKER HILL	21
ADDRESS: ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA	21
THE ANCIENT FISH WEIR ON MENOTOMY RIVER	32
ADDRESS: JOHN ALBERT HOLMES	32
NINETEENTH MEETING. SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.	44
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	44
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY	48
REPORT OF THE CURATOR	48
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	50
ELECTION OF OFFICERS	51
REPORT ON EARLY SETTLERS' DESCENDANTS	52
ADVENTURES OF JOHN NUTTING, CAMBRIDGE LOYALIST	55
ADDRESS: SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER	55
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	99
NECROLOGY	105
OFFICERS	113
COMMITTEES	114
MEMBERS	115
REGULAR	115
ASSOCIATE	118
HONORARY	118
BY-LAWS	119

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING

THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Upon the subject for the meeting WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD read the following paper :

CERTAIN DEFECTS IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

It was with deliberation that I selected my subject for this evening. The virtues of historical societies require no description or catalogue ; it is the fault of the society if they are not apparent and known. Advertising consists in exposing the good points of the article advertised ; and whether it be in the form of a car panel, a bill-board, or a volume of proceedings, the best is intended to be shown. But the defects we are all busy in trying to cover — perhaps to obviate. Having the honor to represent the oldest historical society in this country, the society with the widest experience, it will not be charged that I have no business to lift the edge of the curtain, and expose some of those heaps of rubbish which have

accumulated in a century, and which are too often copied by younger societies in the belief that the dust, cobwebs, and scrap constitute the best part of the society — the cause of its existence and the excuse for its activity. So I propose to speak of the defects — assuming the virtues to be great, numerous, and potent.

1. Have you ever dropped off at a city — a capital of a State — on history bent, to find that the historical society rooms are opened only on rare occasions; but the librarian and key can be found some miles out of the city, and can be reached by driving, no trolley lines running in that direction? This situation becomes more interesting if you are invited in midwinter.

2. Have you ever travelled a hundred miles or more on a Monday, to find that the historical society rooms are open only on Fridays, between the hours of two and four in the afternoon? Any Monday will do.

3. Have you ever taken a night's journey to consult some book or manuscript, to find that the thing desired can be seen only on a card from a member of the society — you being a veritable Ishmael to the place — more so after than before the visit?

4. Have you ever been greeted cordially by the custodian of the society's treasures, but only to be told, on stating generally your wishes, that under the rules you must indicate the particular paper you wish to see? To assist you in this operation there is no catalogue or even a general description of the collection, the custodian knows nothing about manuscripts, and there is no one connected with the society who "does" manuscripts.

5. Have you ever penetrated into the inner rooms of the treasure house, to learn that the card catalogue is not open to the public?

6. Have you ever had the object of your search before you, memorandum pad at your elbow, and pencil in hand, only to be told that no note or notes can be taken without first applying to the board, council or directors of the institution? If it is in early summer, so much the better, as the council holds no meeting till the fall, and by that time you will have forgotten all about your request, and can receive with philosophic calm the negative that comes from the council through the custodian.

7. Have you ever found six or seven letters in a collection, of little or no importance to the collection, but of good value to your

particular purpose, only to be informed that copies cannot be taken, as the society hopes to print the collection? In your heart you know that the society, if it ever does publish, will be forced to make selections out of it, and among the first to be passed over will be the letters you have selected. If you live long enough, you will see that this comes true.

Here are seven mortal sins in the management of historical societies, and I have encountered as many as five of them in a single society and in a single day. In a career of more than twenty-five years I have met them in many forms and disguises, but always as hindrances, discouragements, and personal selfishness. They were applied in the Department of State of the United States as well as in the humblest collection in the land, and invariably originated in that good old comfortable prejudice that the collections were to be treated as the personal possessions of the custodian—to be used or not according to his whim. It was with keen pleasure that I received the aid of my then chief, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, who had an interest in things historical, in breaking down the restrictions in the Department of State; and it was with as keen pleasure that I had the countenance of my chief in the Library of Congress, Mr. Herbert Putnam, in making a national bureau of archives—free to any historical investigator—without any restrictions or red-tape methods. In securing accessibility to material lies the corrective to nearly every one of the seven mortal sins I have detailed.

But outside of the federal government as represented in the Library of Congress, and a very few institutions which could be named, reigns Cimmerian darkness, more or less impenetrable, according to the charm you carry—a name of weight, a letter of introduction, a personal acquaintance with the custodian. The questions are ever present: what are the true functions of an historical society, and how far does this particular institution fulfill these functions? In nine out of ten cases the defects do not lie in the organization and by-laws, for the organization is practically the same in all, as are the by-laws, which are made to protect against abuse and against destruction. The errors lie at the door of the custodian, whose business it is to enforce or release the by-laws according to circumstance, but to lean on the side of liberality. Even though maintained by private subscriptions, an historical

society has quasi-public functions. Otherwise it becomes a tomb for the final and complete burial of material; and this process of entombing is greatly assisted by a rule which gives the use only to members of the society. I could form a small library of volumes in each one of which could be read the effects of this narrow policy — resulting in incomplete histories through lack of material on the one hand, and in incomplete histories through lack of ability on the other. The parable of the talents applies here with peculiar force. It is only necessary to name such institutions as the Pennsylvania Historical Society or the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to indicate two of the best conducted in the land, advanced, liberal and generous to all; and both have gained by their open-handedness.

For every sin of management there are a dozen sins of use in publishing historical material. It is one thing to collect, and quite another to publish. The necessity for collecting printed matter has been much restricted in recent years by the growth of the public library. The necessary tools of workers and the rare or unusual are proper objects of a collecting society. Yet even here there are limitations. Why, for example, should the Massachusetts Historical Society, or this Society, seek to obtain the rarities of New England history by purchase, when copies are available in the Boston Public, in Harvard University, in the John Carter Brown and in the American Antiquarian Society libraries? These rarities cost from \$50 to \$1000, and no one short of a millionaire can hope to gather even a small number of them in a lifetime of ardent collecting. The Massachusetts Historical Society has directed its means towards publishing, and wisely; for many a society has been burdened with a few very good pieces, buried in eccentrically geographical situations, where they cannot be seen and their very existence is almost unknown; and many a one has been crippled at the outset by this ambition to have and to hold costly rarities. The mere possession and its cost have reduced them to a condition of helplessness in publishing.

Nor is this helplessness an unmixed evil. The older conditions were so restful. Once in three or four years a leading society would issue a volume. It would contain some set addresses, some original documents, and no index. The entire annual output of all historical societies could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The general run differed but little, — some documentary material, more or less inaccurately transcribed and printed, some reprints of rare issues of the past, some crude facsimiles, more or less misleading, and some chats by members upon subjects of tremendously personal interest, but of no possible value to any one else. The meetings were more of a social gathering, more informal than the conditions of to-day have imposed, less critical of what was presented, and really enjoying intelligently and enthusiastically the novelties as they were offered. And the field of history was much less a cultivated ground than at present. It was all so simple. In meeting the librarian announced that he had another volume of collections ready for the printer. Thereupon the president gracefully responded to the unspoken suggestion, and remarked that he would be happy to pay the cost of printing and distributing the volume. With such a machinery why raise any question as to the contents of the volume, or the manner of presenting the material? The librarian was sole judge of value and form; the president paid the cost. It was a one-man influence. Unconsciously we think not so much of the X Historical Society as of Mr. A. B. C. who pays the bills, who is supposed to have the greatest interest in the welfare of the society, and who is in reality the mainspring of the institution. We look upon him as an historical scholar, even though his interest in history is limited to his own name; he is treated reverentially by his colleagues; he becomes the honorary member of sister societies, the recipient of degrees from his college because of these publications, and so on — a little circle of activity that runs its course mechanically, until the great man passes away, and a new name and individuality takes his place, and by a well-recognized formula deflects the line of direction by a trifle, and announcing progress, asks leave, alas, to sit again.

This personal element favored sitting still, but it also favored defective publications. Editors were few, and gave their time and service voluntarily; they were not trained in historical methods, and their enthusiasm and knowledge could make up for only a part of their weakness. In the United States history as a study is only a matter of some thirty years in age. The older workers in societies had to encourage contributions, essays, and lucubrations upon the infinitesimally small. They were obliged to recognize the

weaknesses of their neighbors as well as of their members by paying too great an attention to personal, family, and local matters. How many of us can afford (to use a bookseller's term) to keep in stock a file of the issues of more than a very few of the many societies printing their material.

The mere mass is appalling, and the attempt has been made to measure it. We have a notably heavy volume, of equally heavy contents, giving a list of the papers printed by the historical societies of the United States. It is not complete, but it is issued upon a scale possible only with the national government. The volume contains a thousand odd closely printed pages, and an index of one third that number of pages. It is as cheerful reading as a cemetery list, and it chiefly marks burials, quite as complete as what is printed by the daily newspapers. Is it possible to trace from this formidable list the trend of such printing activity in historical lines? There could be found the variations I have just noted, periods of great activity and well-directed action alternating with periods of quiescence and perfunctory performance. Here they are, all jumbled together, historical, genealogical, and patriotic societies; one man, one cause, one locality societies; personal, family, and town societies; and all apparently having but one object in view, to print something, regularly or occasionally, once or often. The confusion is the greater when we examine the contents of the publications of a single society. What is the measure of interest, the principle of exclusion (if any), or the standard of judgment? Is there evidence of intelligent selection or careful preparation? Do the younger societies afford any proof of benefiting by the errors of their elders? If the truth were to be told, the saddest mistakes would be discovered in the most recent issues of the youngest societies. All past experience seems to have been for nothing. This tremendous catalogue of historical publications is all a maze, a puzzle; but it is instinctively felt that here may be found a very long chapter of horrible examples, things to be avoided; and with it a very much shorter chapter of things worthy of praise and imitation. The great fault is that the material is not only misleading in itself, but is used in a misleading manner, and often with an intent to mislead. A partial truth is dangerously near a complete lie, and becomes one when framed by interest, whether ignorant

or not. It is amazing to see how much time and ingenuity are expended in pulling down what others have set up, or in strengthening the tottering foundations of a possible tradition, an impossible history. A striking instance is the attempt to trace back to blooded stock on the other side of the water. Let me read a few sentences from one who was not a trained genealogist, but was blessed with sufficient humor to know what a trained genealogist should be.

"Perhaps in this place the history may pause to congratulate itself upon the enormous amount of bravery, wisdom, eloquence, virtue, gentle birth, and true nobility, that appears to have come into England with the Norman Invasion: an amount which the genealogy of every ancient family lends its aid to swell, and which would beyond all question have been found to be just as great, and to the full as prolific in giving birth to long lives of chivalrous descendants, boastful of their origin, even though William the Conqueror had been William the Conquered; a change of circumstances which, it is quite certain, would have made no manner of difference in this respect."¹

Cannot this be read in hundreds of genealogies or local histories?

Another good instance is the attempt to bolster up the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, peculiarly a local irruption in that county of North Carolina. Not one bit of good evidence has been produced to support the contention of the Declarationers, every historical point is against them. Yet there are a monument, brass plates, and a presidential visit; there are periodic explosions of supposedly new evidence, and much personality and abuse of those who question the tradition. The whole monument rests upon a false foundation—a desire to gain local and family renown; and starting with a possibility, its backers have refused to recognize the cumulative evidence against it, and treat it not as a question of history, but as a plank in a party platform—a good enough Morgan until after election.

It was said in the seventeenth century that a man who went in search of the philosopher's stone and dabbled in alchemy usually ended by being committed to the Gatehouse or prison as a coiner. This course is not confined to alchemy. It is so much easier and more pleasant to make a supposition that will meet the desired

¹ Martin Chuzzlewit, Ch. I.

condition than to dig out the facts and, possibly, find that they will not support your theory.

The tendency of historical writing is to become monographic, the study of a single incident, a short period of time, or an individual in a narrow field of action. The larger part of historical publication lies in printing source material, the documentary evidence in full, with more or less extensive notes. The archivist supplies the essayist with his material, and the essayist offers to the general historian his portion of partially predigested history. There are few who have the means, inclination, and leisure to devote themselves to a great historical writing; but there are many who can turn out a monograph and do it well. The co-operative history is a development of this monographic idea, and the results are seen by comparing such works as those of Bancroft, or Hildreth, or Von Holst with Hart's "American Nation." The personality of the writer is diminished, but in its place we have a wider view, a more consistent plan, and a better arrangement of material.

This points out the proper sphere of activity of an historical society. It would be absurd for one to undertake a general history of the United States; it would be equally absurd for one in Massachusetts to undertake the history of South Dakota or a Mexican State. It would be going too far afield, when there is an abundance of good material lying at our very doors. For the material is abundant, — the more so because the very obvious has, as is not unusual, been passed over. We mourn the absence of reliable economic records, the bare facts which may serve as a basis of a great economic history of a land which has an economic history worthy of study. Have we a good sketch of the manner in which Massachusetts became settled, how and why population took certain lines, and what has been the effect in producing that great outward movement of population to the westward, evidences of which may be seen in nearly every State in the Union outside of the slaveholding States? Have we a good history of a village common, and what it meant then and means now to the cluster of houses of which it was the center? Have we the beginnings of the political history of any town, in its great changes from a few cottages to an important city? Have we a full history of a factory town, with its vital alterations in every part of its economy? Can you name a

satisfactory study of a frontier town, of the settlement of a State or region, or of any one line of development which may serve as a history of many, and give the economic historian a foundation from which to generalize?

Instances can be named of notable studies. There is a gentleman of this city who has made the study of the provincial paper money of Massachusetts his own, and by long, patient, detailed accumulation and treatment of material has given a history invaluable to one who would understand the social experience of the eighteenth century in the American colonies. For the results apply to any colony that experimented with its currency in the hope of being able to cancel a debt without an equivalent. In one of the volumes of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics are to be found tables of prices of commodities from the seventeenth century, taken from merchants' books — dry, fragmentary, and horribly unrelated, yet capable of being interpreted in a manner that will explain many a local revolution, many a migration, and many a social disturbance. That collection of disjointed items is far more valuable to history than the costly and useless compilation of names of those who served from Massachusetts in the War of Independence or in the Civil War. Costly it has been beyond question; useless it will be, as the United States government proposes to issue a similar list for the whole country, and has a force of four hundred compilers against the four or five that the State offers. A part of the same money expended in printing the Council Minutes, or the Journals of the House of Representatives, or the State Archives, would bring in much better and more permanent results.

Local history is not to be despised when the material offers. Salem witchcraft contributed to the world's experience in delusion. Is Harvard University an asset of Cambridge or of the entire country? Is Plymouth a spot on a pink map, or is it by inheritance a conviction, a moral influence? In naming Concord is it a locality that first comes to our minds?

Fortunately here we have some good models of treatment. The town of Quincy, Mass., was not a very promising subject for a history, yet it has in Charles Francis Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History" a work almost unique. This is not because it is a local history, but because it is sketched on such broad lines as

to be at once a history of the first years of the Bay settlement and the connection of a New England town with the current of the nation's history. It is thus much more than Quincy that is rated; it is the development of a town in certain of its activities, from the first grant until it became a city, and is in its main lines a contribution to the history of the people of any New England settlement. I set aside the fact that the writer possessed an unusual combination of qualities for such a work,—an antiquarian and historical spirit, tempered by a good sense of humor, and a strongly marked critical faculty. We may not agree with him in all his judgments, but it is difficult to question his facts or deny the skill with which he has used them, lifting the unpromising and as a rule forbidding subject of local history on to a plane where it becomes a necessary part of a people's history. The result is a very readable and vitalizing book. It is a great work when brought into comparison with the ordinary run of local histories.

It will be said it presents an exceptional instance, a writer unusual in equipment. True, but the best lessons may be learned from extreme instances. The very success achieved in that case emphasizes the necessity of inviting trained ability for preparing such histories, and just as good ability for editing original or source material. Look at the publications of the Camden or of the Selden Society, and there are found such names as Pollock, Maitland, Gardner, Gairdner, and Gross as editors, names which stand pre-eminent in the studies they made so distinctively their own. They did not consider it beneath their dignity to prepare these often fragmentary records, and by their labors they made the material valuable and accessible. That huge collection of genealogical facts—the publications of the Harleian Society—belongs to a somewhat different category, but stands just as high in its field. It is not the laudation of one or a number of families, but it is a great collection of facts useful and necessary to all kinds of historical writing. The nearest approach in this country to such societies is the Prince Society of Massachusetts, and it is unnecessary to make any comment upon the value to history of its publications.

The fault lies in this, that the work is left or entrusted to those whose general knowledge cannot compensate the defects produced by their enthusiasm. As Clarence King once said of the young,

partially trained, and quite inexperienced geologists coming under his charge, "they are all the time rediscovering America." Certain great facts of history may be assumed with the same certainty as a mathematical axiom,—a date, a place, and an individual. Other so-called facts are subject to continual readjustment, not necessarily because they have become untrue or misleading, but because they are seen in new relations and with altered possibilities. All history is mosaic, a lot of separate and many-colored facts brought together. The resulting picture depends upon the skill and imagination of the writer. He frames the outlines, and arranges his facts. It would be very simple to do this were history a science. We could then compare the writing of history to the figures of the kaleidoscope,—a number of colored beads carelessly thrown into a box, where an arrangement of mirrors produces a series of beautifully correct pictures, and all mechanically. Fortunately history is not a science. We can now view with comparative complacency the attempts to turn saints into sinners and devils into angels. Under skillful hands a Borgia deals out health foods and not poisons, a Medici in France drank milk, not blood, a Nero was a wise administrator sacrificing his own comfort to the good of his people, and a Judas was a public benefactor in that he established a public cemetery. In our own history Benedict Arnold becomes a lovable drunkard, with a somewhat hasty temper; Thomas Paine or Pelatiah Webster challenges the authorship of the Declaration of Independence with Thomas Jefferson; Alexander Hamilton is made a debauchee, that Jefferson (as black to others) may shine; and after twenty years a city erects a monument to the boss whom it drove with curses from its limits. Time takes its revenge, and in the long run brings justice.

This tendency to question history again and again is a wholesome one, and does more good than harm. Contemporary judgments are notoriously harsh, and the charge lies against us as a people that the hero of to-day is the despised of to-morrow. The early history of Massachusetts Bay turned largely upon the clergy,—not that any real question of religious belief was at stake, but the position and consequent power of the clergy were dominant. At the time there was only one opinion, that the safety of the State depended upon the maintenance of this influence of the elders. Those who

questioned their power or decisions were the pariahs of the community, to be hounded out and even killed, — pests to be eliminated. For two centuries this remained the general opinion, and few convictions are so deeply entrenched as inherited convictions. Can you name any clerical writer of Massachusetts history who seriously questioned the attitude of the magistrates and elders in the seventeenth century? Can you name any lay writer who could take a fair-minded view of the leading actors of that century? It required a sort of explosion to awaken this self-satisfied condition. It came in Brooks Adams' "Emancipation of Massachusetts," and since then no one would dare write of the elders as did our fathers or our grandfathers.

To yield the best results the personal or interested element must be eliminated, and the means supplied of questioning from time to time the conceptions of history we have inherited, imbibed from imperfect sources, or accepted because of a weighty name. This is, fortunately, not a question of money. It is hopeless to expect to obtain a profit from the publications of any society, however good they may be. The membership is as a rule small, and buying libraries are few. Just as good work was done in the early days of the older societies, when their funds were extremely limited, as later, when they began to use adequate publishing funds. Nor is the chance of profit increased by multiplying the publications — reprints of rare pamphlets, first printing of manuscript collections, proceedings of meetings, or quarterly magazines. The proceedings and magazines must be more or less scrappy, consisting of unrelated parts and of such documents as cannot be made into a connected series. It is less expensive in the long run to issue a volume of good material than to issue many of scraps. The labor of consulting the magazines is already a burden, as the consolidated index is an almost unknown factor. One half of what has been published by societies could be wiped out without much loss to history; one half of what remained could be presented in a form very different from that in which it exists, and with great advantage to the student; and one half of that part could be so condensed as to offer a series of volumes, by no means occupying as much as five feet of shelving, in which could be found all of the essentials of New England history — and more too.

So I come to what I should regard as the proper field of historical societies — to present under careful direction the great wealth of raw material that is at hand, but under limitations presently to be named.

There is a volume in the publications of the American Antiquarian Society called *Thomas Lechford's Note Book* — the work of a lawyer-trained bird of passage who was in Boston for a short term, less than four years. It is a collection of dry, formal documents in the law language of the day, with a few, a very few, letters and memoranda interspersed. Not at all a book to read, but one capable of affording much to the student. The description of a lot of land, the form of a lease, a contract for the hire or building of a fishing boat, — it is on its face of little importance. Yet we get the dimensions of a fishing boat of that time, and the pinnace, the shallop, and the pink played an important part in extending the sphere of Massachusetts influence. We get light upon the religious controversies of the day, and more than that we get the side-lights which often prove to be the best of illuminations. The sales of land by the Hutchinsons after Ann Hutchinson had been formally handed to the Devil and driven from Boston, are pathetic evidence of the extent to which the rancor of hate was carried. There is no collection of colonial material equal in historical interest to the Winthrop Papers, — a veritable mine to one who approaches that period of our history. To come home, the two volumes of records published by the city offer a rich mine to be worked by many.¹

In the earliest volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society will be found a series of sketches of different towns and counties. The sketches are very brief, imperfect, and unscientific, yet made by a person competent to gather information of such a character as to give the matter a permanent value. The Cape Cod region was undertaken by James Freeman.² The sub-

¹ I refer to the "Proprietors' Records" (1896) and "The Records of the Town of Cambridge" (1901), two excellent examples of a good publication of source material.

² Rev. James Freeman, D.D. (1759-1835), wrote sketches of the Cape Cod towns in the early volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Rev. Frederick Freeman (1800-1883), Presbyterian, afterwards Episcopal minister, was author of "the two weighty volumes of the History of Cape Cod" (Boston, 1860-1864).

jects treated were those given in a fair gazetteer, but in a more full manner, with an attempt to sketch the history of the locality. It is surprising to see how much those descriptions are still used, and how serviceable they have proved in recording what so rapidly passes from the memory, or becomes distorted by oral testimony from one generation to another. They offer a further interest in this, that the most modern effort in local history — I refer to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, now in process of publication — pursues the same method, but on a much larger and more scientific scale. Look at the first volume of the history of Nottinghamshire. The chapter headings are natural history, which includes geology, palæontology, botany, and zoology. Then follow sections on early man, Anglo-Saxon remains, the county in Domesday, ancient earthworks, and political history. This completes the first volume. There yet remain to be treated, in three other volumes, the subjects of architecture, ecclesiastical history, topographical accounts of parishes and manors, agriculture, the social and economic history, — schools, arts, industries, and commerce, — and finally ancient and modern sports.

There is a suggestion for ourselves in this definite purpose and method. We have no ancient ruins, but we have a choice assortment of modern remains; we have little older than a century and a half, but that period is more than enough to make history. We have a social organism before us that is ever changing, and yet leaving little to remind us of its past history; and we have a machinery of government, also ever changing, yet retaining a full record of its accomplishments and as full a record of its legal actions. Or, to pass to more local matters:

The panoramic changes in a city or town are always interesting, but rarely recorded. The newspaper and magazine can never give what we want, for they select on narrow lines and leave aside what are the most important features. The rarity of early views of Boston — or indeed of any city — is a cause for regret. There is an early sketch of Tremont Street along the Common, and it looks an impossibility. Equally unreliable is the appearance of the same street in the early days of photography. Its aspect as we know it will in less than fifty years be so changed that our great-grandchildren will scoff at the pictures of to-day. So many of the village

houses having historic associations or architectural features have passed away that the one is drawn from the memories of the oldest living and the other is studied by architects in stately volumes, giving every detail of frame and fittings. Is there any excuse for permitting the memory of a street or house to pass away with the absurdly cheap appliances of the modern time? With a Kodak, and the picture is capable of any enlargement, a whole street can be taken at a very small expense and the films stored for future reference; and this offers what no city survey or fire insurance map can give,—houses, trees, and relations of objects to one another. Once in ten years such a survey could be made, and would yield a most eloquent picture of the changes in localities and point to the social changes that have accompanied them. There is no limit to such a record.

Thus there can be, and I believe there will be, differentiation in the activities of historical societies. The real effect of military and patriotic societies upon the writing of history is yet to be measured; but there is a growing belief that such societies are doing greater harm than good. For they dwell upon only one item of interest, and unduly magnify its importance. There is the same tendency to be found in local or family history,—the oldest building, the oldest inhabitant, the leading family, the town traditions,—material good enough in itself, but needing judicious treatment to be made sufferable beyond a very small circle. It is generally left to the tender mercies of the profligate imagination of the genealogist, and the results are deplorable. The true historical society must be raised out of this round of petty subjects treated in a petty manner, and I admit this is a most difficult problem to be met. The true solution lies in closer co-operation among the societies. In the Western States the State founds and supports an historical society. The plan has its disadvantages, but it does offer this distinct advantage. As local societies are formed, the State society can exercise an advisory power, a control more or less effective, and in consultation divide the territory to be covered. A development upon this line is a possibility of the future and deserves careful consideration. As it is with us, the river overflows its banks and moves sluggishly over vast shallows. Confine it to its proper course and some use can be made of its motive force. This would

permit also a distribution of publishing activity, the general being reserved for the leading or central, the local for the local society. In this State such a graded series would be of advantage, and would at least prevent duplication of publication and the appearance in an occasional and very remote issue of material of really national importance. Organization and co-operation, mutual service, and a trained responsible editor will go far to remove the reproach so often uttered against the publications of our historical societies.

At the conclusion of the above paper, and as a result of questions asked by the President and others, Mr. Ford expressed the opinion that it would be of great advantage if the historical societies of the different States would supply a central society with lists of their original documents.

The meeting was then dissolved.

THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING

THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA read the following paper:

LIEUTENANT JAMES DANA AT THE BATTLE OF
BUNKER HILL

AMONG the men from Connecticut who marched to Cambridge for the relief of Boston, early in June, 1775, was a lieutenant in General Israel Putnam's regiment, to whom it must have seemed almost like coming home, for his father was a Cambridge boy, born and brought up here. The father had removed early to Windham County, Connecticut, settling first in Pomfret and then in Ashford. The son was one of the one hundred and twenty picked men from that county who, on the night of June 16, went under Captain Thomas Knowlton to Bunker Hill, worked hard all night, and fought next day at the famous rail fence. This man was James Dana,¹ great-grand-son of the Richard Dana who settled in Cambridge soon after 1640.

Professor Edward Channing, in his "The United States of America, 1765-1865," tells us that "though the younger men among the colonists knew little of actual warfare, yet everywhere there were veterans of the French wars, who soon infused a knowledge of

¹ James 4 (Jedidiah 3, Benjamin 2, Richard 1,) Dana was born at Ashford, Connecticut, Oct. 9, 1735.

military methods into the masses of raw recruits." James Dana was one of these veterans. He had begun his military career in early youth, among the provincial troops under Sir William Johnson, twenty years before the Revolution. He had assisted in building Fort William Henry, at Lake George, in 1755, and was at Crown Point when Johnson was severely wounded and Baron Dieskau defeated and killed. After this Dana had returned home, had married and settled in Mansfield, Connecticut, which, like his birthplace, Ashford, was in Windham County.¹

A large part of Windham County, which borders on our Worcester County, was originally included in Massachusetts and was settled by Massachusetts men, and many were the disputes between the Colonies over the boundary line. In 1686 twelve men from Roxbury bought land in Windham County, but it was not until eight years afterwards, in 1694, that surveys having been made, the shares were delivered to the proprietors. By this time the rights of one of them, John Pierpont, had been bought out by three Cambridge brothers, Jacob, Benjamin, and Daniel Dana, none of whom went to Connecticut in person, but some of their sons removed there and settled in different towns in Windham County. These settlements were included in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, so that all their land deeds had to be recorded, and wills probated, in Boston, where, strange to say, they still remain.

Windham County had begun very early to show its patriotic zeal, and claims the honor of originating the system of Committees of Correspondence which proved so effective in promoting the Revolution, and which has been ascribed to Samuel Adams and other notable persons.² As early as December, 1767, at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Windham Town to consider a letter from the Selectmen of Boston, a committee was appointed to correspond with committees from the several towns in the county.

In the summer of 1774 many of these towns had shown their enthusiasm by sending flocks of fine sheep as presents to Boston. The first of these was apparently the first gift to arrive there,

¹ Mansfield is now in Tolland County.

² Samuel Adams laid his plan before a Boston town-meeting in 1772. Mercy Warren makes the claim that her husband had suggested it before that. But in Windham County towns it had already been in force for some years.

and these expressions of sympathy were very cheering and comforting to our people. Windham County, though of the same Connecticut Freemen whom Chief Justice Marshall calls "that cautious people," was full of martial fire, and Israel Putnam and bodies of men from all its towns had set out the September before for Boston, but had turned back on learning that their assistance was not yet needed. A convention of delegates from Windham and New London Counties was held at once and recommended that the selectmen should supply every town with ammunition and military stores, and that every troop and military company should arm and equip themselves as soon as possible and should have regimental reviews and artillery exercises. In October the General Assembly enacted that the quantity of ammunition required to be provided should be doubled, and that every military company should be called and exercised in the use of arms twelve half-days between then and May, and new regiments were formed. And the farmers knew what they were fighting for, for at this time, when money was so scarce and books so rarely purchased, more than one hundred and twenty copies of John Carter's "English Liberties, or the Free-born Subjects' Inheritance," were ordered, from Windham County alone.

When the actual breaking out of the Revolution came, James Dana was a volunteer — not this time from the enthusiasm of youth or love of adventure, for he was now about forty years old, a married man with a family of children — and his name is on the Connecticut list of men who marched on the Lexington alarm. The authorized "Record of Services of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution" says: "The response [of Connecticut] to the alarm was not the official action of the Colony, nor, on the other hand, an impromptu movement of individuals without previous organization. An 'uprising' of armed men might have partaken of a mob character, and the militia regiments as such could only be called out by the governor or legislature. It was rather a movement of the townsmen marching under their militia organizations. The gathering thus became orderly as well as spontaneous. It appears from the records that in some cases the companies or train-bands collected and marched off under their officers without further orders; in other cases, the colonels, taking the lead, called

out a certain number of men . . . ; in a few cases volunteer companies were organized for the special service; in addition, many individuals, not belonging to the militia, joined in the march, either providing for themselves or going with the companies."

At ten o'clock on the morning of that fateful Wednesday, April 19, 1775, a post had been despatched by the Committee of Safety at Watertown, the bearer, Israel Bissel, being charged to alarm the people as far as the Connecticut line "that the British have landed two brigades, have already killed six men and wounded four others, and are on their way into the country. All persons are desired to furnish him with horses as they may be needed." A copy of this despatch was forwarded by the town clerk of Worcester to Daniel Tyler, Jr. (son-in-law of Israel Putnam), at Brooklyn, Connecticut, who received it at eight o'clock Thursday morning and sent it on to Norwich, while messengers on horseback, with beating drums, carried the news in all directions about Windham County. Friday was spent in active preparation. Officers rode rapidly about in every direction with warnings, bullets were run, accoutrements and rations provided, and powder furnished to the volunteers. Over a thousand men from Windham County were ready to meet the summons. The Committee of Correspondence wrote: "The ardor of our people is such that they can't be kept back."

Early on Saturday, April 22, Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs, of Dana's town of Mansfield, led "sundry of ye troop" to Windham Green, where selected companies from Mansfield and two other towns were already on the ground ready to march. After prayers in the meeting-house, it was nearly sunset before they set out for Pomfret. On Sunday the officers found themselves much embarrassed by the numbers that presented themselves, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Putnam, they held a council and agreed to select one fifth of the men out of the ten companies, the rest to return home. Meanwhile, a letter had been received from Concord, from General Putnam, saying that the Committee of the Provincial Congress begged "they would be at Cambridge as speedily as possible with Conveniences, together with provisions, and a Sufficiency of Ammunition." "The elect fifth, selected probably in consideration of their special fitness for military service, set out on the march at about 5 P. M." on Sunday, through Woodstock and

Dudley for Cambridge. "Their orderly and soldierly bearing attracted great attention on their march, and they were received at Cambridge with special distinction, as the first trained companies that had come from abroad to the aid of Massachusetts." Fortunately this section of the country was favored in the way of public roads, a new route to Boston having been established only the year before, and taverns were numerous on every road, many new ones having been opened.

After twenty-seven days' service as private, Dana at once on his return enlisted again, this time as first lieutenant in Putnam's regiment, the Third Connecticut, in Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs's company. His commission as lieutenant is dated May 1, 1775. Many of those who had been on to Cambridge had no time even to visit their families before starting off again. If he was one of these, it may have been just as well, for his wife, Elizabeth Whittemore, who is said to have been a handsome, blue-eyed little woman, was a British sympathizer and much opposed to his going into the army. Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs, who, as I have said, was from Dana's town of Mansfield, had been devoting himself with energy to enlisting men, impressing blankets and arms, and securing and storing a quantity of powder for Mansfield. Storrs kept a diary, in which after describing the second march to Cambridge, by way of Ashford, Dudley, Westboro, and Framingham, when his men appeared to be in high spirits, he says that he left the companies in Waltham for the night (June 2) under the care of Lieutenant Gray; and adds: "Proceeded with Lieut. Dana to Cambridge, at Col. Lee's house, where we expected to have tarried; found 3 companies." Apparently there was no room for them, for he continues: "Went to headquarters ¹ to Gen. Putnam, he came with us to our proposed quarters, looked for accommodations for my companies. Conclude to march in tomorrow. Came out to Watertown with Lieut. Dana; tarried there. 3d. Towards noon, the companies arrived [from Waltham]. Sat off with them to Cambridge; met Gen. Putnam on the road. Came to the house of Mr. Fairweather,² where we make our quar-

¹ Not the Inman house, as is often stated, but the Apthorp-Borland house familiarly called "the Bishop's Palace."

² The Wells-Newell house, No. 175 Brattle Street, where years after, James Russell Lowell, William W. Story, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson went to school.

ters; after dinner went up to headquarters to shew ourselves to the General; he recommends our being immediately provided for action. . . . 8. Mr. Fairweather came home last night out of humor as they tell me. No wonder, his house filled up with soldiers, and perhaps his interest suffers as it really must. Sent for me, yet appears to act the part of a gentleman. . . . 9. Went to Gen. Putnam to make return of my companies to draw soap, beer, &c., out of the Connecticut store; he declines coming to a settlement about it. My company uneasy for want of beer, and soap for washing. . . . 16. Expecting an engagement soon, P.M. Orders came for drafting 31 men from my company, and the same from all companies belonging to Connecticut. Sent off Lieut. Dana,¹ Sergt. Fuller, Corporal Webb and 28 privates. Who at 8 o'clock went down to Bunker's Hill together, with a large detachment of the troops of this province, where they flung up an entrenchment." A stone tablet at the side of the Harvard Gymnasium marks the place where they assembled, for prayers by President Langdon of Harvard, before starting. These one hundred and twenty men from Israel Putnam's regiment, under the command of Captain Knowlton, with thirty-one other Connecticut men quartered in Christ Church, which had then been erected about fourteen years, were the first to strike the spade into the ground for the redoubt.

After toiling unceasingly all night, Captain Knowlton and his men, at nine in the morning, exhausted from hunger, fatigue, and want of sleep, were ordered to take possession of the unguarded pass, where a low stone wall and the famous post-and-rail fence already stood. It is discouraging and yet interesting to see how the accounts of the battle vary and how little one can trust to tradition. In the case of Lieutenant Dana, it is the aim of this paper not to state anything as a *fact* that is not pretty well proved. The "History of Windham County" gives several anecdotes of the men from there, among them, of course, the familiar one of its hero, General Putnam, calling out as he rode past, "Boys, do you remember my orders at Ticonderoga?" "You told us not to fire

¹ In an account of the battle given in Heath's Memoirs and elsewhere, the four officers under Knowlton are stated to have been John Keyes, Thomas Grosvenor, Esquire Hills, and, perhaps, Huntington. It is now established beyond a doubt that the fourth was James Dana. Hill's first name should be Squier.

until we could see the whites of the enemy's eyes." "Well, I give the same order now." And it adds, as does another local history, that Dana, who was second in command of the detachment, was posted in the centre of the rail fence and that an order was given "death to any man who fired before Capt. [Lieut. ?] Dana." "Tough old 'Bijah Fuller, Dana's orderly sergeant," is said to have helped Gridley draw the lines of the fortification. His captain, Knowlton, with coat off, walked to and fro before the unique breast-work, cheering his men and discharging his own faithful musket till it was bent double by a cannon ball. Dana was the first to detect and give notice of the enemy's flank movement and is said to have been the first to fire. Of this, Captain John Chester, in command of the Wethersfield Company quartered in Christ Church, writes, June 22: "The men that went to intrenching over night were in the warmest of the battle and by all accounts they fought most manfully. They got hardened to the noise of the cannon . . . they tarried and fought till the retreat." "Lieut. Dana tells me he was the first man that fired and that he did it singly and with a view to draw the enemy's fire and he obtained his end fully, without any danger to our party."

One statement made is that on Lieutenants Dana and Grosvenor and Sergeant Fuller firing at a given signal, the head of the advancing British column, supposed to be Major Pitcairn, fell. I believe it has been proved that he was killed by a negro soldier, Peter Salem, but Hudson's article in defence of Pitcairn says that he was wounded twice, the first time at the head of his column. Both accounts therefore may be true. During the battle, a cannon shot struck the fence and forced a rail against Dana's breast, but he regained his feet and kept his ground until the line was ordered off, when he drew off his men and aided in covering the retreat, but on arriving at his quarters, he was confined to his room and unable to dress or undress himself for several days. Knowlton's men had double the number of cartridges of the other troops, having brought them from Connecticut. They were the last to leave the conflict and, retiring slowly, formed the rear-guard of the Americans in the retreat, during which a bullet lodged in Dana's canteen.

Holmes's "Annals of America" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops under Knowlton was much applauded." And

Judge Prescott wrote what he had heard from his father, Colonel Prescott: "Never were men in a worse condition for action — exhausted by watching, fatigue and hunger, and never did old soldiers behave better." Frothingham's "Siege of Boston" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops is mentioned in terms of high commendation in the private letters and journals of the time. Major Durkee, Captains Knowlton, Chester, and Coit, Lieutenants Dana, Hide, Grosvenor, Webb, Bingham, and Keyes are specially named as deserving of credit." Simms's "History of Schoharie County" (N. Y.) states that Washington on his arrival was so struck with these accounts that in his first general order he gave out the countersign as "Knowlton" and parole "Dana." I have examined the orders all through July and do not find exactly that, but I do find that before Washington's arrival, in general orders for June 27, given out, I take it, by General Ward, the countersign was "Prescott" and parole "Dana," and on June 20 the countersign was "Windham." Knowlton and Dana were rewarded by promotion as soon as it was practicable, Knowlton being commissioned major and presented by a Boston admirer with a gold-laced hat, a sash, and gold breastplate, the latter still in the possession of his descendants, and Dana being commissioned captain the next September. It is related that with his usual diffidence he had at first refused promotion.

On the 18th of July there was a patriotic demonstration, on the occasion of the reading of the manifesto issued by Congress setting forth the reasons for taking up arms, and General Putnam's division was paraded in full force at Prospect Hill, the Declaration of Congress read, and a solemn and pathetic address made to the soldiers by Rev. Abiel Leonard, Chaplain to Dana's regiment, succeeded by a prayer. Then on a signal from General Putnam, the soldiers gave three cheers as an Amen, followed by the firing of a cannon from the fort, and the standard sent by Connecticut to General Putnam was exhibited. I quote now from the "History of Windham County": "Capt. Dana was ordered to receive and display the flag, but warned that in so doing he must not let the colors fall, as that would be deemed ominous of the fall of America. The great six-foot captain, who could face a hostile army without flinching, shrank like a child from this display and fain would

have declined the honor, but Putnam cheered him on by a friendly clap on the shoulder and 'Cuth it, Dana! You look like a white man; take the colors and clear away;' whereupon Capt. Dana advanced and received the colors from Washington's aid and carried it three times around the interior circle of the parade amid the rapturous applause of the delighted soldiers. It was one of six flags ordered by Connecticut for her first six regiments. The ground of this was scarlet. 'An Appeal to Heaven' [then the motto of Massachusetts] was inscribed in golden letters on one side; Connecticut's armorial seal upon the other — three detached vines and the trustful legend, '*Qui transtulit sustinet.*'"

In July Dana's regiment was adopted as Continental. It was stationed, during the siege, in Putnam's Centre Division at Cambridge, till the expiration of its term of service in December. The long period of inaction was a sore trial to the Connecticut soldiers. Bad fare, scant pay, misapprehension of their leaders' plans and of the true state of affairs so exasperated them, that many declined re-enlistment, subjecting Washington and his associates to most serious anxiety and peril. Even men in the Windham County regiment were infected with this spirit and some of them marched off home when their time had expired, without waiting for a formal discharge, but a majority of the regiment remained, and Dana, who was discharged December 16, at once re-entered the service and was here in Colonel John Douglas's regiment till March, when the seat of war was transferred to New York. During this time of inaction he must have had opportunities to meet his Massachusetts relatives, many of whom were living in Cambridge and Brookline. One of these, Lucy Dana, his first cousin, married, the next year, Jonas White of Watertown, and was the grandmother of Maria White, the lovely and talented poetess, wife of James Russell Lowell. But Francis Dana,¹ his second cousin (for whom Dana Hill and Dana Street are named), had gone to England to ascertain the state of feeling and the probable measures of the British Government, and so cannot have met him. Though Garden Street was not then laid out, James Dana must often have passed the old burial ground and seen the graves of his grandfather, Benjamin Dana, his uncles and

¹ Afterwards delegate to Congress, Minister to Russia, and Chief-Justice of Massachusetts.

other relatives. The gravestone of this Benjamin Dana, who was born in 1660, is still in good condition, near the street and just half-way between the "Sentinel and the Nun."

On the 9th of January, on which day the countersign was "Charlestown" and parole "Knowlton," Washington expressed his thanks to Knowlton and the officers and soldiers under his command for their spirit, conduct, and resolution on the occasion of the burning of the houses near the enemy's works on Bunker Hill the day before. We may hope Dana was one of these, but we have no proof of it. We next hear of him in Colonel Andrew Ward's First Connecticut Regiment, from May, 1776, to May, 1777, which joined Washington's army at New York and was stationed, at first, near Fort Lee. Marching to White Plains and afterward into New Jersey, it took part in the battles of Trenton, December 26, 1776, and of Princeton, January 3, 1777, and encamped with Washington at Morristown till May. In June he was recommissioned captain, and heads the list in Colonel John Ely's Connecticut State Regiment. He and his brother, William Dana, were at Valley Forge through that terrible winter of 1777-1778. He spent his own money in the care of his men and his is said to have been the only company there that had shoes. On one occasion, when they were encamped in the woods and he was looking for wood or game, he heard a voice and found that it was Washington praying for the soldiers and the patriot cause. At another time he is said to have saved Washington from capture, when or where is not stated. He was out reconnoitring, and, going up a hill through a wood, came to a bend in the road, where he descried some British soldiers coming towards him on horseback. He turned his horse and dashed down the hill, the British after him. As he was flying for his life, he met Washington riding towards the enemy; he shouted a warning to Washington, who thereupon galloped back to headquarters. But for this Washington might have become a prisoner to Sir Henry Clinton.¹

In 1781 Dana had a company in Brigadier General Waterbury's State Brigade, which was raised that March for the defence of the Connecticut seacoast, and in July joined Washington at Phillipsburg near Dobbs Ferry, and for some time after was under Heath

¹ J. R. Simms: History of Schoharie County, N. Y.

on the Westchester line. While here, the celebrated William Eaton, also from Windham County (who afterwards distinguished himself in the war with Tripoli and became a general), having run away from home at the age of sixteen to join the army, his father prevailed upon Captain Dana to take the boy as his servant, and under him he learned the art of war, which he used to so much advantage later. Apparently Dana was at home again after this, perhaps on a furlough, and in September of that year on hearing of the attack on New London by the traitor Benedict Arnold, he saddled his roan mare and hurried off to the fight.

A family tradition is that at the disbanding of the army in 1783 Dana was again appointed, this time by Washington himself (probably at Newburgh, New York) to carry the flag at the celebration. A particularly fine white horse was provided, seventeen and a half hands high, and a complete new outfit. Captain Dana was six feet one inch in height, well proportioned, and with black hair and eyes; and, though retiring in manners, he was of commanding appearance and of great strength and endurance. He is said to have held the flag throughout the day, without allowing it to droop or waver, and with no food or drink to sustain him. When he returned, Washington presented him with the horse and accoutrements and flag, and in his orders next day expressed approbation of his conduct. The descendants have a statement made by one of his granddaughters that when a child she had not only seen them all, but had been permitted to ride the horse. As this could not have been before 1815, it must have been a wonderful horse, — thirty-six years old at least! Still, horses have been known to reach that age and even forty.

Dana is spoken of in the local histories as a popular leader and as having served through the war, distinguishing himself in the different campaigns and performing gallant exploits. He retired as brevet-major and afterwards the title of Brigadier General of Militia was conferred on him by the Governor of New York State, where he settled.

Many Connecticut families had emigrated to Vermont, New York, and Ohio, and Dana decided to make himself a home at Cobleskill, Schoharie County, New York. As we know, the Government was very slow in paying the army, and when he was

finally paid, it was in Continental money, which was absolutely worthless. It was given him in two grain bags, from which he emptied the money on the floor, keeping the bags as the only things of value. He was followed to Cobleskill by several of his men, among them the William Eaton of Tripoli fame. Another settler was Captain Redington, who had also fought under Washington and had endured terrible sufferings in the British prison in New York, the Sugar House.

Dana built a log house two miles from the village of Cobleskill in a part now called Lawyersville, and was soon joined by his wife and children. Here he lived, highly esteemed by the community, until his death, October 16, 1817, at the age of eighty-two. General Dana and Captain Redington lie within a few feet of each other, in the quiet cemetery just behind the church at Lawyersville.

A great-granddaughter, Almeda Anthony, now Mrs. Snyder, has sent some relics of her ancestor, General Dana, to be presented to the Cambridge Historical Society—a silver knee buckle and a little green flask, both used by him in the Revolution.

For the second topic of the meeting JOHN ALBERT HOLMES read the following paper:

THE ANCIENT FISH WEIR ON MENOTOMY RIVER

FISH and the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland and New England played a very important part in the founding of the plantations about Massachusetts Bay, and were the purpose for which a large part of the funds of the Massachusetts Bay Company was adventured. Thus it very naturally came about that the General Court of the Colony should control the taking of fish in its waters, both in the rivers and the sea.

The Pilgrims came to Plymouth indentured to certain English merchants, who, interested in the fisheries here, had furnished the funds which enabled the Pilgrims to make the voyage, and true to their agreement they engaged at once in fishing.

How important and even vital to the very existence of the Plymouth Colony in its first years were the fish, is told by Sabin, who

says, "In 1623, without relief from abroad they were reduced to a single boat"; "and that," writes Hubbard, "none of the best," yet "it was the principal support of their lives," for "it helped them to improve the net wherewith they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that year." "Few countries," Hubbard continues, "have this advantage. Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in a tide." "Such," says Sabin, "were their resources to prevent absolute starvation, and as they spread a part of the fish they caught upon their corn lands as manure, they were compelled to watch their fields at night, during seed time, to preserve them from the depredations of wolves."

The fish cured and exported the following years were taken principally from the sea, but there was another branch of the industry fully as important, and this was the taking of shad and alewives in the smaller rivers and streams for fertilizing the planting grounds.

Squanto taught the men of Plymouth to "fish" their corn, pumpkins, squash, and beans, that is, to place a fish in the ground with the seed. He also instructed them in the manner of taking fish.

Winslow writes: "We set the last Spring — 1621 — some twenty acres of Indian corne and sowed some six acres of barley and pease, and, according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our grounds with Herrings, or rather, shads, which we have in great abundance and take with great ease at our doors," meaning the "Town Brook" at Plymouth, this being the first summer in the Colony.

The alewife¹ or "aloof" was the fish used principally for this purpose. "The Alewife," quoting Josselyn, "is like a herring, but has a bigger belly, therefore called an alewife."

Webster says: "The alewife is a North American fish of the herring family, and the name is properly 'aloof,' the Indian name of

¹ Alewife; Branch Herring. *Pomolobus pseudo harengus* (Wilson). This is known also as wall-eyed herring, big-eyed herring, spring herring, bleary-eyed herring, ellwife, gaspereau, and doubtless by many other names. It is found on our Atlantic coast from the Carolinas northward, and is very abundant. It enters fresh water streams to spawn and the run usually precedes that of the shad by two or three weeks.

a fish. It is also called ellwif, ellwhop, and branch herring." Webster's definition of "Alewife" is "a woman who keeps an alehouse." The "Century Dictionary" says: "A particular use of alewife, probably in allusion to their corpulent appearance; the form 'aloof,' as recorded in 1678, is said to be the Indian name of the fish, but is probably an error for alewife." But, as it is an American fish, the Indians doubtless had a name for it, and "aloof" is correct.

In Wood's "New England Prospect" (1629-1634), we find the following: "Alewives be a kind of fish which is much like a Herring, which in the latter end of Aprill come up to the fresh Rivers to spawn in such multitudes as is allmost incredible, pressing up in such shallow waters as will scarce permit them to swimme"; and in Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence": "But the Lord is pleased to provide for them (the colonists) great store of fish in the spring time and especially Alewives about the bigness of a Herring, many thousands of them, they used to put under their Indian corn which they plant in hills five foot asunder."

Thomas Morton, he of the scandalous doings at Merry-Mount, tells of the methods and results of "fishing" the corn. "You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish, every acre taking 1000 of them; and an acre thus dressed will produce and yeald so much corne as three acres without fish."

Palfrey says that the Indian method was to cover the fish over in the hill with the seed, and that the fish were taken by the Indians "with lines and nets, the cordage of which was made of twisted fibres of the dogbane or of sinews of the deer." They also took them in baskets and in nets like a pursnet put upon a round, hooped stick with a handle, and also in weirs.

The Indians' weirs for taking salmon, says Temple, in his "History of Palmer, Mass.," writing before 1889, "were simply rude stone walls built from opposite sides of the river, pointing down stream, till they nearly met each other. At this narrow opening a large cage was placed formed of twigs fastened to hoops by strips of tough bark."

"The existence of such weirs in Ware River was a matter of personal knowledge to men living 20 years ago." It was from these weirs that the river and town of Ware, in Massachusetts, derive their name.

The taking of land fish, that is, fish taken without the aid of boats, was from the first controlled by the General Court, as "The Ware att Misticke, granted to Governor Winthrop and Mathew Cradocke of London," March 4, 1633-1634, and "Att a Genrall Court holden att Newe Towne, Sept. 3, 1634." "There is leave granted to the inhabitants of Newe Towne to builde a weire vpon any place of Winotimies Ryver, within their owne bounds." The business was further controlled, when in the General Court "It was ordered that all weers shall be set open from the last day of the weeke at noon till the second day in the morning" (Saturday noon till Monday morning), June 6, 1639.

The weir granted to Winthrop and Cradocke in 1634 was at the outlet of Mystic Lake, where High Street, Medford, crosses Mystic River at what is known as Weir Bridge.

Israel Stoughton was granted the privilege of building a weir in Neponset River. He was to sell the alewives at five shillings the thousand.

A weir was built at Roxbury without consent of the court, as was pointed out by Winthrop in his controversy with Deputy Governor Dudley, regarding the permission by Winthrop to the inhabitants of Watertown to construct a weir upon Charles River.

Winthrop's reply is interesting as showing the necessity which they were under to secure fish for their corn. The Governor answered: "The people of Watertown, falling very short of corn the last year for want of fish, did complain, etc. and desired leave to erect a wear, and upon this the Gov. told them that he could not give them leave, but they must seek it of the court; but because it would be long before the courts began again, and if they deferred till then, the season would be lost, he wished them to do it, and there was no doubt but being for so general a good the court would allow of it."

In the foregoing I have endeavored to show somewhat the extent and importance of the alewife fisheries to the agriculture of the colonists.

To bring the matter nearer home, we may turn to the Cambridge "Town Records," where we find that Newe Towne soon took advantage of the privilege granted by the General Court, and on March 1, 1635, "agreed with John Clark to make a sufficient Weir to

Catch Alwiffs vppon Menotomies River in the bounds of this Town before the 12th of Aprell next, and shall sell and delliver vnto Inhabetants of the Towne and noe other, exsept for bayte, all the Aylwifs he shall take at iiis vi^d pr thousand." On April 4, 1636, it was ordered by the town "That Walter Nichols shall pull vpp the boarded weire in menotemis Riuer," and "Andrew Warner and Joseph Cooke" were ordered "to make a rate for the deuision of the Aylwifs." Whether this order to pull up the weir was in anticipation of the order of the General Court, June 6, 1639, to set open the weirs from Saturday noon till Monday morning, to allow the fish to pass, or for its entire removal, is not plain, but probably the former, for on April 23, 1636, Andrew Warner was "Apointed to see A cartway made to the weire."

It was also agreed with him to fetch home the alewives from the weir for which he was to receive sixteen pence per thousand. Not all the fish were put upon the land. John Clark was required to furnish of the first run what fish the townsmen desired for eating at two pence per score.

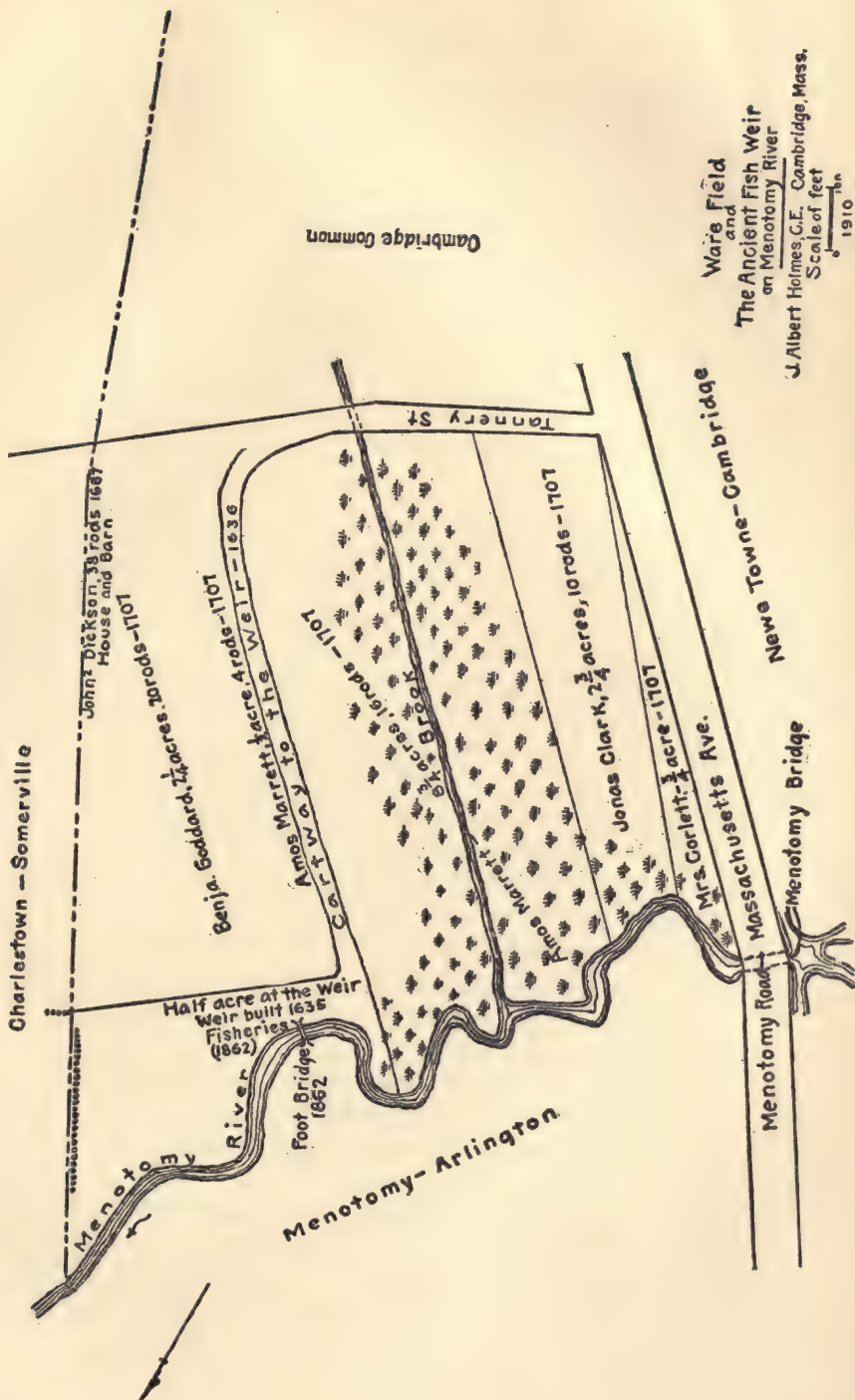
Town legislation regarding dogs was made necessary, because of the practice of fishing the corn. The owner whose dog was found in a corn field digging up fish was fined, and if he did not pay, the dog might be shot.

It would be interesting to know how the "boarded weire" was constructed. It is the practice at present in taking alewives to impound them in a shallow pool, from which they are removed with scoop nets. The barrier is formed of boards built up to a height of a foot or eighteen inches, over which the fish pass to the pool, and from which they will not return till they have cast their spawn. This construction is a true weir according to definition.

During the last years of taking alewives along Menotomy River, seines were used, and the fish sold in Boston for bait for cod fishing.

As evidence that there was land in addition to the cartway reserved early at the weir, it was agreed on the "20th of the 9th month," November 20, 1648, "that Natt. Hancocke should haue some wood out of the Weare, to be Cut out and fetched home by the Constables at ye Towne Charge." Hancocke was ill and unable to provide the wood himself; he died shortly after.

Charlestown - Somerville



Ware Field
and
The Ancient Fish Weir
on Menotomy River
J. Albert Holmes, C.E., Cambridge, Mass.

In December, 1648, the use and profit of the weir and the weir land were granted to John Gibson for the two years next ensuing, on condition that he serve the town with fish at nine pence per thousand. Evidently John could not fulfill the contract for, on March 11, 1649, a committee was appointed to arrange with Roger Buck regarding the weir for one year ensuing.

At a meeting of the Selectmen, November 12, 1666, William Dickson made a motion to the effect "that in letting the wares, care might be taken to secure Winottimes Corn fields." It is not quite plain from this record just what Mr. Dickson intended by his motion; perhaps it was to protect the Menotomy corn fields by fencing, perhaps to provide them with fish before other localities were served.

In February, 1685, the weir and weir field were let to Nathaniel Patten for thirty shillings for the ensuing year, and in April, 1686, he was chosen to look after the gate at "Notomie Bridge," for which service the rent of the weir was to be allowed him.

The foregoing is from the "Town and Selectmen's Records." In the "Proprietors' Records," under date of March 28, 1715, we find that a committee was appointed, one of whose duties it was to let the weirs, and on April 8, 1717, the same committee reported that they had "Let ye benefit of ye Wares to Catch fish, the high way & Common Land thereto beLonging for this present year to mr. Henry Dunster & mr. Samuel Bowman for twelve Shillings, they to delivr. ye fish to ye Inhabitants of Said town at Eight pence p thousand."

The Proprietors voted, in June, 1719, to resign the privilege and benefit of the weirs for catching fish to the town, provided the town would defend the weirs against encroachment, and pay certain expenses, and that the fish be equitably distributed at a price not exceeding nine pence per thousand, and finally that the town make acceptance at its next public meeting.

Evidently the town did not accept, for at a meeting of the Proprietors held March 25, 1720, it was "Voted that the priviledge of ye Wares for catching of fish, with the Lands thereto appertaining, belongs to Said Proprietors." "Also Voted that One Acre of ye flatts of Great Spy pond on ye North Side ye Bridge over Mills's Ware be laid out for ye better Securing Said Proprietors' priviledge

of Catching of fish in Said Town." The "Bridge" carried Weir Lane, or Lake Street, Arlington, over the outlet of Spy Pond.

A committee of the Proprietors, on April 15, 1726, let to Colonel Edmund Goff and Lieutenant Amos Marrett the whole privilege of catching fish at Mills's weir for that year. This is the last mention of the weirs in the "Proprietors' Records."

"Ye half Acre of Land laid out for ye benefit of ye wares & ye high Way leading unto it thru Ware field" was under consideration by the Proprietors during the winter of 1723-1724, and at a meeting held May 15, 1724, it was voted that John Dickson have the improvement of the half-acre of land at the weir and the highway leading to it through Ware Field during the year for six shillings.

In his "History of Cambridge" Paige tells us that at an early period the Dickson family occupied an estate on the easterly side of Menotomy River, extending from North Avenue (now Massachusetts Avenue) to the Winter Hill Road (Broadway, Somerville). On July 24, 1687, pursuant to a vote of the town, the selectmen laid out to John Dickson about one-fourth acre of land, on which to build a house and barn, "in our ware field next Charlestown line;" the northwest boundary was next the Ware Field, on which boundary he was to maintain a fence.

Apparently the half-acre at the weir and the highway leading thereto were never definitely laid out by a vote of the Proprietors, but were reserved. In 1707 four lots were assigned, "In the Ware field." The lot numbered thirty-six, falling to Amos Marrett, was divided by the highway to the weir. That part of Marrett's lot on the easterly side of the highway was bounded northerly by the half-acre, while the portion on the westerly side bordered northerly on Menotomy River.

Massachusetts Avenue in Cambridge, above the Common, was in use as a path or road as early as 1635, and perhaps earlier, and was called the "highway to Menotomy," also, the "Great Road," and "Concord Road."

From the foregoing records we learn that in 1635 a fish weir was established on Menotomy River, and that in the following year a cartway was made to the weir, leading from Menotomy road, a part of which was doubtless Tannery Street. Amos Mar-

rett acquired other land in Ware Field and disposed of his holdings there to John Dickson. Marrett's southeast boundary was on Cambridge Common, meaning common land. Dickson soon acquired all the land between what is now Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, and Broadway, Somerville, though how he came into possession of the weir land I have been unable to ascertain. He died March 22, 1736-1737, and his estate was divided among his sons. In later deeds that portion of the estate next Massachusetts Avenue is described as bordering southeasterly on an open way or lane, leading to Dickson's house, the present Tannery Street.

Tannery Street would be the natural route around the head of the swamp bordering Tannery Brook to the high ground beyond, and thence to the Weir. We also learn that the bridge over the river was called Menotomy Bridge, and that there was a gate at that point; that the weir and the right to take fish thereat, also the weir land and the cartway leading thereto were leased to various residents of the town from time to time, and that the designation for the lands between Massachusetts Avenue and the Somerville line east of Menotomy River was "Ware Field."

There is a plan in the Cambridge city engineer's office at City Hall, bearing date of 1862, on which is shown a foot bridge crossing Menotomy River about seven hundred and forty feet northerly or down stream from Massachusetts Avenue. Just below this bridge appears on the plan the word "fisheries."

This is the spot where the early land grants show the ancient fish weir to have been located, where shad and alewives were taken by the colonists for "fishing their Indian corn." The foot bridge was just at the point where the high land draws close to the river on either side, forming the outfall of the basin in which lie Fresh and Spy Ponds and the Fresh Pond meadows. It would be the natural place to locate a weir, for above the "great swamp" spread out on either side, while a short distance below the river was crossed by the Charlestown line, beyond which the weir could not be located according to the grant. The land is now owned by the Commonwealth and is just within the lines of Menotomy River Parkway. The Cambridge Poor Farm occupies a part of Ware Field.

There was another weir of later date called "Mills's Ware," at the outlet of Spy Pond, and a resident of Cambridge informs me

that he very well remembers a fish house which stood over the brook just north of Concord Avenue, where the fish were taken as they passed through a plank flume.

A committee appointed in 1767 to make a survey of Charlestown streets, and to assert the town's rights where encroachments had been made, reported that "There is a fishing place at Menotomy Bridge, South Side" (Broadway, Somerville) "which appears to belong to the Town, but Mr. Dickson has put up a fence & enclosed the most of it."

That the land belonged to the town is no doubt correct, but their right to take fish there was denied by the County Court in 1681, as appears in the records of the Court: "The selectmen of Cambridge, plaintiffs against Capt. Lawrence Hammond and John Cutler, jun., defendants, do humbly declare as followeth, &c. In the year 1634 the General Court granted them liberty to erect a ware upon Minottomy River, and they accordingly so did, and have had quiet possession of the same from that time until now, without any disturbance of their neighbors of Charlestown or any other; and hath been in a manner the stay and support of the town by fishing their Indian corn, which is the principal part of their husbandry and livelihood. . . . The defendants have both violently and contemptuously proceeded to obstruct the passage of the fish to the wares, which they so long possessed, as above said, to their great damage and loss of two hundred thousand fish, which we judge will be a hundred pounds damage to the town in their crop, and tending to the inevitable impoverishing of divers poor families."

Paige says, writing in 1877: "The practice of 'fishing their Indian corn' was long ago abandoned by cultivators in Cambridge; but the privilege of taking fish in Menotomy River remains valuable. It has been subject to occasional controversies and litigations since 1681, in all which Cambridge has preserved the rights originally granted; and to the present day 'fish officers' are annually appointed by the city council to take care that those rights suffer no infringement." The superintendent of sewers and the superintendent of the water-works are now the "fish officers" of Cambridge.

Russell Cook, an old resident of the neighborhood next Menotomy River, and living there at present, states that alewives were so plentiful in the river during the spawning season that "one could

walk across on them." In 1875 tide gates were built in the river near Broadway, which practically put a stop to the fish ascending above that point. The great abundance of alewives taken from the river during the first two hundred years of settlement very naturally lead to its being referred to as the Alewife Brook, and so in the Commissioners' Records we find, under the survey of 1802, the bridge carrying Menotomy Road, now Broadway, Somerville, over Menotomy River referred to as the Alewife Bridge.

The stream was sometimes called "the Little River" and "Little Mystic" as the Mystic River was called the "Great River." We find it called Little River in 1826 and 1848.

Little River has remained as the name of the outlet of Spy Pond, which was sometimes called Menotomy Pond, while Menotomy River was the outlet of Fresh Pond.

In the "History of Arlington" Cutter says: "The names of Mystic and Menotomy rivers are apparently aboriginal designations, and, like all Indian names, probably describe the locality to which they were affixed. Trumbull gives the origin of the name Mystic anciently written Mistick, as applied to the Medford River, thus: 'Tuk' in Indian denotes a river whose waters are driven in waves by the tide or winds. With the adjectival missi, 'great,' it forms missituk, now written Mystic — the name of the 'great river of Boston bay.' The origin of the name Menotomy yet awaits explanation. The spellings of the word have been various."

In the Cambridge "Town Records," 1630-1703, we find the river called "Menotomies," "Menotomy," "Notomy," and "Winattime"; in the Proprietors' Records, 1635-1829, it is given, "Menotmy," "Manotomie," and "Menotamye"; the Commissioners' Records, 1638-1802, give "Winotamies" and "Menotomies" River. Paige calls it "Menotomy" River, and Wyman refers to "Menotomy" River no less than forty times between 1637 and 1808, and once to Alewife River, in 1818.

Cutter gives "Menotomy" River, and there have been found in the Middlesex registry no less than thirty deeds, between the years 1646 and 1794, in which Menotomy River is mentioned.

"Menotomy" is the form of spelling used by far the greater number of times in the above records, and, as the records show, Menotomy River was the name by which the beautiful little stream,

winding its way through the marshes and meadows from Fresh Pond to the Mystic, was known for nearly two hundred years. Its waters were clear and of considerable depth, and at the old weir below Massachusetts Avenue it had a width, in 1862, of about twenty feet, while above it had a less and below a greater width. That the river was used for boats is shown by the following Revolutionary record. On May 10, 1775, the Committee of Safety voted "that Mr. Watson be directed and empowered to remove to Cambridge the boats now in Menotomy river."

At the conclusion of Mr. Holmes's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE NINETEENTH MEETING
BEING THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE NINETEENTH MEETING, being the Sixth Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of October, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI submitted its Annual Report, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE By-Laws of the Cambridge Historical Society call for a report from the Council at each October meeting. In accordance with this custom we herewith submit the Fifth Annual Report. Another year has passed over the head of the Society and we are still bewailing our youth. Had our Charter been dated fifty years ago how much we might have saved from the wreck of time! How many noted names we might have shown on our roll of membership! But regretting the past avails little now; we must take courage and do what we can with our material.

This year we have not much to report. No centenaries of famous sons of Cambridge have brought our name prominently before

the public, no great work has been accomplished, we have not even yet obtained a permanent home.

There have been three meetings of the Council, one at the Latin School on October 26, 1909, two at the house of the President, November 30, 1909, and May 27, 1910. The Society has held three regular meetings, all, by the courtesy of the authorities, in the Lecture Hall of the Latin School. The Annual Meeting came on October 26, 1909, when the elections were held, Frank Gaylord Cook going out of office as Secretary and Francis Hill Bigelow being chosen to fill his place.

An amendment to the By-Laws was passed, so that Article XVI now reads: "Any regular member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury fifty dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of twenty-five dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses"; thus providing for Life Membership in the Society.

The speaker for the evening was Mr. Stephen Pascall Sharples, who read an interesting paper on the Lawrence Scientific School, this institution having passed into history. Mr. Sharples was an early pupil and later was instructor in this school, so that he was able to give a full account of its origin, history, and work, and tell of its famous teachers and pupils.

This meeting occurring just as Harvard College was inaugurating a new president, the following timely letters and records were read, all telling of former elections and inaugurations of presidents of Harvard: Extracts from the journal of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, daughter of President Quincy, 1816-1838; a letter from Edward Everett Hale to George J. Abbot, of Washington, D. C., telling of the acceptance of the presidency by the uncle of the writer, Hon. Edward Everett, in 1845; also letters from Willard Phillips to Octavius Pickering written at the time that Jared Sparks was elected and inaugurated, 1848-1849.

The regular winter meeting was held at the Latin School, January 25, 1910. It was unfortunately a very stormy night, so that only about thirty persons were present to enjoy the able paper read by Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical

Society, on "Certain Defects in our Historical Societies." Mr. Ford sketched for us an Historical Society as it should *not* be, and then gave several suggestions as to how we could work to the best advantage. He thought it would be a great help if the historical societies would supply the central society with a list of all original documents owned by them, if indeed they did not deposit the documents themselves with the State Society. He said that the Massachusetts Society could mend and care for documents much better than the local societies, and that they would be carefully catalogued and could be consulted at all times.

The remainder of the session was occupied by an informal talk on old documents in historical societies and county courts and how badly some of them were kept, and it was voted that the Council be asked to ascertain what unprinted documents of historical value are in the hands of the City Clerk, and to see that they have proper care and arrangement, also to ascertain if it would not be possible to have a list printed of the wills before 1700 that are in the Middlesex Probate Office, no such list ever having been published.

The third regular meeting was held April 26, 1910. Owing to a severe storm, only twenty-five members were present. A paper was read by Miss Elizabeth Ellery Dana on Lieutenant James Dana of Connecticut, who was quartered in Cambridge during the first year of the Revolution and who fought at Bunker Hill. Several small articles, formerly the property of Lieutenant Dana, were presented to the Society by Mrs. Almeda Anthony Snyder, of East Worcester, N. Y.

Mr. J. Albert Holmes read an exhaustive paper on "The Ancient Fish Weir on Menotomy River." Alewives, the fish that abound in this river, played an important part in the early days of Cambridge, and mention of them is found several times in the records of town meetings. The Indians taught the early settlers to plant alewives in every hill of corn to make it productive.

The bronze Longfellow medal was awarded to Gilbert Franke by the Society, in February of this year, for the best essay on "The Patriotic Poems of Longfellow." This is the second time this medal has been given, and this year, as well as the first year, it went to a son of a professor in Harvard. Both winners were

pupils in the Browne and Nichols Preparatory School. The successful competitor read the essay before his fellow pupils, the members of the Committee on Medals, and a number of parents of the scholars, as well as the President and members of the Council.

The Society has lost by death six regular members: James Barr Ames, John Rayner Edmands, William James Rolfe, Emma Griscom Smith, Alvin Foye Sortwell, and Sarah Hodges Swan. Three Associate members have also passed to the great majority: Alexander Agassiz; Arthur Gilman, who as a Charter member was most active in the formation of the Society; and William Harmon Niles, who at our celebration of the Louis Agassiz Centenary, May, 1907, gave us a paper on the great naturalist from the standpoint of a pupil. Since the last Annual Meeting twelve members have signed the By-Laws, and if there are any present to-night who have not signed it is hoped that they will kindly do so after this meeting.

So much for the year passed; now what are we going to do as to the future? It was voted at the last Council Meeting to have an Index made of the Proprietors' and the Town Records. This is very important, as at present any one trying to get information regarding early settlers is obliged to read much of the books, and owing to the eccentric spelling of the scribes of those days may even then overlook the most important items. It is hoped that this work may be completed during the coming season.

We are gradually accumulating many objects that will be of interest to our descendants, as your Curator will tell you. And now let me urge on every member to try to do something to further our aims this coming year. Your Council is composed of more or less distinguished men and women, all very much engaged in varied pursuits, but here are nearly two hundred members, many of whom have until now done nothing for the common good. What will you do this year? Do you not know of some old record in a family Bible, some old letters written from Cambridge, a scrapbook perhaps? Even if these things do not seem very important to you they may furnish facts that we wish to know. We do not ask for the originals, copies will answer our purpose. Have you no old obituaries or biographical sketches of Cambridge citizens? We should be glad to have them. In these days when every one photographs are there no views of Cambridge streets and houses of which

you could give us copies? Mr. Ford suggested that Cambridge streets should be photographed every few years and prints filed away for future reference; had that been done in the past many knotty points would be cleared up. Have you no sketches of houses long gone? Is there not some record of the past known to you that you could send to the Curator, who will receive anything, no matter how small the gift? Do not sit idle and leave all the work to others; show us what you can do. If every one will cheerfully do his best, our Society will not exist in vain.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

THE past year has not had the noteworthy events to make it as interesting as the previous ones, and the duties of the Secretary have been of minor importance.

Many suggestions have been made before the Society and to the Council at its meetings which should bring results of considerable consequence.

There remains, of course, much to be accomplished by the Society, but with the hearty coöperation of the members the future has much of interest in store.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

IN accordance with the plan of arrangement for the Society's collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, curios, etc., which was determined upon a year ago, and stated in the last Annual Report, the Curator has had, this year, a definite course to follow, and he has had the good fortune to secure, at a moderate expenditure, the services of an expert cataloguer, Miss Ella S. Wood, by whom the work has been completed and brought down to this date.

Interesting statistics have resulted from this completed work. The collection now has 135 bound volumes; 759 pamphlets; 123 pamphlet holders, containing 1,917 letters; 33 photographs and portraits of Cambridge people, of which 7 are framed; 24 views of or in Cambridge; and 9 curios, etc. The additions during the period covered by this Report were 72 bound volumes, 98 pamphlets, and 1 curio. Notable among the earlier gifts was the chair of Washington Allston,

obtained from the income of a fund in the hands of Mr. Richard H. Dana as sole trustee.¹ Among the later donors, as listed in this year's Proceedings, were Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who gave an album of photographs of Cambridge men of note during the last century; our Secretary, Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, who gave a considerable number of books, pamphlets, and a framed group of tiles from the Todd house; and Miss Mary E. Saunders, who turned over to the Society a miscellaneous collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers which had belonged to her father, the late George S. Saunders, of 9 Concord Avenue.

A glance at the shelf-list will make the plan of arrangement clear, and by its use, for some time to come, the collection is easily accessible. Following the custom in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the books are not themselves numbered. The simplicity of the plan of arrangement there, as here, makes a detailed classification unnecessary, that being left to the card catalogue proper, which now comfortably fills a two-tray case, with a total of some 1,500 cards.

The shelf arrangement by cards, showing some variations from the original plan, and suggesting some later modifications, is as follows:

1. General reference works (the few needed).
2. General histories: Societies, etc.
3. Collected biographies and genealogies: Societies, etc.
4. Histories by States (except New England), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
5. New England States (except Massachusetts), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
6. Massachusetts cities, towns, and counties (except Cambridge): Societies, etc.
7. Cambridge: (a) Historical and other Societies: Proceedings, etc.
(b) City publications.
(c) Books, pamphlets, views, etc.
(d) Books, etc. by and about Cambridge people.
(e) Early imprints.
(f) Harvard University: Reports, etc.
(g) Radcliffe College: “ “

¹ This fund was made up of the net proceeds of the exhibition of Washington Allston's picture of Belshazzar's Feast, in 1843, with accumulation of interest. (See account in Suffolk Probate Court.)

(h) Other institutions.

(i) Curios, relics, souvenirs, etc.

8. Miscellaneous.

Adherence to the plan of arrangement and choice of material adopted for the Society's collection, and observance of its proper scope and necessary limitations will unavoidably make its growth slower than that possible for other collections of larger scope, but it is believed that there will be a compensating gain, as was stated in the Report of last year, by reason of the development of the collection along exclusive lines as drawn; and it is hoped that there will be sufficient material forthcoming, not only to add to the value and size of the collection, but also to make imperative, beyond further delay, the provision of adequate quarters, and eventually of a building of its own.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

CASH ACCOUNT

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1909-1910.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 26 October, 1909			\$170.83
Admission Fees		\$16.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	\$531.00		
Associate Members	18.00	549.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues:			
Regular Member	50.00		
Associate Member	25.00	75.00	
Society's Publications sold		45.00	685.00
			<u>\$855.83</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing Publications IV, By-Laws, and bills	\$313.73	
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices and postal cards	10.50	
Hobbs and Warren Company, letter book	3.50	
Massachusetts Historical Society, pamphlets and reprints	2.40	
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting	22.74	\$377.87

	Expenditures brought forward	\$377.87
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting	19.00	
Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service	5.00	
Walter K. Munroe, services	1.25	
Postage and expressage	23.55	\$426.67
Cataloguing the Collections:		
Ella Sites Wood, services	\$99.25	
Stuart N. Hotaling, services	2.40	
Library Bureau, cards, oak tray and catalogue case	10.88	
Amee Brothers, stationery	11.68	
H. C. Dimond and Company, rubber stamps	1.49	125.70
General Fund, Commutation Fees received during the year	75.00	
Balance on deposit 25 October, 1910	228.46	
		<u>\$855.83</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I HEREBY certify that I have examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year ending this day and find them to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the Cash Balance.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS,
Auditor.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year:

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,
FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW,
RICHARD HENRY DANA,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,
HENRY HERBERT EDES,
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,

EDWARD HENRY HALL,
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

On behalf of the Committee on Early Settlers' Descendants the following report was presented by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EARLY SETTLERS' DESCENDANTS

THIS Committee was appointed in the first year of the Society, but never before has made a report. The members who have filled out their papers are:

MISSSES ELIZABETH HARRIS and ALBERTA MANNING HOUGHTON. Descended in the eighth generation from Major Simon Willard, 1632.

In the ninth generation from William Manning, before 1638.

MRS. EMMA MARIA (CUTTER) MITCHELL (MRS. JOHN). In the eighth generation from Richard Cutter who came to Cambridge about 1638; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Cambridge Church in 1666.

MRS. MARY GERTRUDE (PARKER) SHEFFIELD (MRS. GEORGE). In the seventh generation from Richard Hildreth, here before 1644; Edward Winship, 1635; John Poulter who lived at Cambridge Farms in 1697.

MRS. MARY ISABELLA (JAMES) GOZZALDI (MRS. SILVIO). In the ninth generation from William Adams, who had a land grant in 1635, and was made freeman May 22, 1639.

MISS MARION BROWN FESSENDEN, descended from twenty-three early settlers; twice (both in maternal and paternal lines) from seven of these. In the eighth generation from Nicholas Fessenden, before 1674; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; John Brown, before 1656; William Munroe, (two lines) 1652; John Mason, (two lines) before 1676; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Church in 1666; John Rolfe, before 1656; John Spring, (two lines) before 1657.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nathaniel Bowman, 1650; Roger Wellington, 1638; James Cutler, (two lines) 1649; Elizabeth Cutter, (two lines) about 1640; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643; Thomas Sweatman, 1645; Thomas Cheney, before 1656; George Reed, 1635.

In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson, before 1643; Gregory Stone, 1637.

In the eleventh generation from John Bridge, (two lines) 1632; Nicholas Danforth, (two lines) 1635.

MISS SARAH ALICE WORCESTER. In the eighth generation from Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631.

MISS SUSANNA WILLARD. In the seventh generation from Major Simon Willard, 1634.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHITTEMORE. In the sixth generation from Samuel Whittemore.

In the eighth generation from President Henry Dunster, 1640; Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631; Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

MRS. ISABELLA STUART WHITTEMORE (MRS. WILLIAM R.). In the sixth generation from Abraham Ireland.

JOSEPH HENRY BEALE. In the ninth generation from Thomas Fillebrown, 1666; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643.

In the tenth generation from Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

WILLIAM EBEN STONE. In the eighth generation from Gregory Stone, 1637; John Champney, 1638.

FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW has eighteen ancestors among the early settlers. In the sixth generation from Joseph Hill, 1727.

In the seventh generation from Owen Warland; Josiah Parker.

In the eighth generation from Henry Prentice, before 1643; John Ward, about 1643; William Reed, 1718; Richard Dana; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; John Benjamin, 1635; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; Francis Whitmore; John Brewer, 1642; Edward Jackson, 1643; John Champney, 1638; Thomas Blodgett, 1635.

In the tenth generation from William Manning, before 1638; Richard Parks, 1638.

JOHN HERBERT BARKER, of Waltham, Associate member. In the eighth generation from Richard Francis; John Cooper; Nicholas Wyeth.

In the ninth generation from Henry Prentice; Nathaniel Hancock; John Ward; Nathaniel Sparhawk.

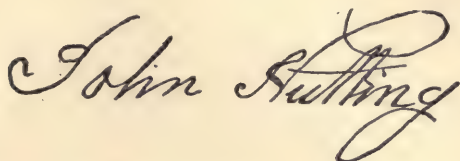
In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson; Jonas Clarke.

Only fourteen members of the two hundred have sent in their papers. I know that it is considerable trouble to make them out, but it is also very interesting. I have blanks for any one who will use them, and shall be glad to make out the papers for members who will send me their line from any one mentioned in Paige's History of Cambridge.

Although only fourteen members have reported, they represent nearly fifty of the early settlers. There are a great many more than this represented by their descendants in our Society.

Upon the main subject for the meeting SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER read the following paper:

ADVENTURES OF JOHN NUTTING, CAMBRIDGE
LOYALIST



[From his Memorial to Lord George Germain, 1777.]

To paraphrase Cowper, hymning the surprising adventures of another John :

John Nutting was a carpenter
Of credit and renown.
A train-band captain eke was he
Of famous Cambridge town.

His father was James the locksmith, of humble but respectable pedigree, — so humble that only his wife's first name, Mercy, is recorded.¹ Young John was born 14 January, 1739, Old Style.² Within the week he was baptized,³ after the prompt, Godfearing fashion of his day, and named for his uncle, the aristocrat of the family, who held the double distinction of a Harvard degree and the Collectorship at Salem.

Six years later his father died,⁴ and the lad, on reaching suitable age, was apprenticed to John Walton,⁵ housewright, of Reading. This worthy was destined to play an important part in his career,

¹ Cf. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 616, etc.

² From data collected by John's grandson, the late Charles Martyr Nutting, K.C., of Halifax, most kindly placed at my disposal by his nephew, Henry Haliburton Robinson, Esq., of London. Hereinafter referred to as Nutting Papers.

³ 21 January, 1739. Register of First Parish, Cambridge.

⁴ Administration granted to the widow 27 Jan. 1745-6, with an allowance for the three youngest (*sic*) children "one of which was sickly." Middlesex Probate Records, No. 16138. It seems impossible to suppose John was the invalid.

⁵ 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420.

at least in that portion of it connected with Cambridge. He is often called Captain Walton,¹ and we may surmise that it was through his influence that his apprentice, when only seventeen, marched from Cambridge in Captain Fuller's company of Colonel William Brattle's regiment "on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry."² He served but two weeks on that expedition, getting no farther than Springfield, where the news of the final disaster to the ill-fated garrison probably reached his command.

The next year he enlisted³ under Captain Aaron Fay in "a company of foot in His Majesty's service," forming a part of Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's regiment raised by Massachusetts "for the reduction of Canada." This time he saw real service, and on a pretty considerable scale. Nichols's regiment formed part of the composite force of over fifteen thousand men, regulars and militia, that gathered that summer on the shores of Lake George, and under the inefficient Abercrombie made a bootless attack on Montcalm, entrenched at Ticonderoga. Young Jack must have had his fill of wilderness-marching, lake-paddling, and stockade-building; and perhaps of fighting as well, for on at least one occasion his regiment was severely cut up.⁴ He may have seen and must have lamented the untimely death of young Lord Howe, who, though nominally second in command, was the life and soul of the expedition.

These early seeds of martial experience evidently fell on good ground. Nutting's aptitude for military life, especially of the militia variety, as well as the early development of his powers of command, organization, persuasion, and *camaraderie*, so essential to promotion therein, may be inferred from the fact that ere the Revolution he had been elected "acting lieutenant" of the Cambridge company, — doubtless in place of Lieutenant Samuel Thatcher, who on the reorganization of the militia shortly before the outbreak of active hostilities had been promoted Captain, vice Thomas Gard-

¹ In 1775, when he had moved to Cambridge, he was first lieutenant in the local company, with his brother for second. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

² 95 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 377.

³ 2 May, 1758. 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420. Nichols was a Reading man. L. Eaton, *Genealogical History of Reading*, 98.

⁴ Cf. R. Rogers, *Journal*, 121. J. Cleaveland, *Journal*; xii. Essex Institute Historical Collections, 190; etc.

ner.¹ In this position his influence was certainly sufficient to make his leadership sought by both sides in the struggle,² as we shall see.

Perhaps it is not too fanciful to picture the young militiaman returning in November from his first campaign, with the irresistible air of all true sons of Mars, making conquest then and there of the heart of his master's daughter, Mary Walton. At all events we find him three years later, just out of his indentures and entitled to call himself housewright on his own account, preparing a home for his bride in Cambridge. On November 7, 1761, he bought of William Bordman for £16 lawful money a little lot of a quarter of an acre (about where the Epworth Church now stands) "on the highway or Common as far as the land belonging to the Heirs of Mr. Johnathan Hastings dec^d" and in front of "the Tan Yard," with "half the well."³ Here he built a modest house "two story high, three rooms on a floor" — "a good house," as one of his boarders testified later,⁴ and it is something for a boarder to say that. Here the young couple established themselves, and here, 26 April, 1762,⁵ was born their first child, a daughter, baptized⁶ Mary for her mother; her father, as was customary (if not already done), "owning the covenant" the same day in Dr. Appleton's meeting. The next June he bought an additional strip of land from Bordman for £6 lawful.⁷

The extant records of his next few years are mainly concerned with the good old-fashioned steady increases to the family, till half a dozen babies were tumbling about the little house opposite the common. John Junior was born 3 March, 1764;⁸ Mercy (named from

¹ L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

² Memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ 59 Middlesex Deeds, 266.

⁴ Testimony of Nathaniel Bust before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, xiii. 303. Public Library, New York City.

⁵ Nutting Papers.

⁶ 9 May, 1762. First Parish Records.

⁷ 59 Middlesex Deeds, 624.

⁸ Nutting Papers. Baptized 11 March, 1764. First Parish Records. Died unmarried 30 July, 1822. Nutting Papers.

her paternal grandmother) arrived on Washington's Birthday, 1766;¹ Mary No. 2 (No. 1 having died 12 April, 1766²) came to carry on the name, 1 March, 1768;³ Elizabeth (another family cognomen) opened her eyes on 5 April, 1770;⁴ James (named from his paternal grandfather) joined the flock on 8 May, 1772;⁵ and Susanna put in an appearance on 28 August, 1773.⁶

Meanwhile our housewright was becoming a man of substance and standing. In 1768 he was appointed one of the parish tax-collectors, and had the handling of as much as a hundred and sixty pound on a single accounting.⁷ In his turn he began to take apprentices.⁸ His father-in-law Walton seems to have put work in his way, and certainly stood behind him with financial backing.⁹ He himself described his business as "extensive," both as master-builder and in the lumber trade.¹⁰ Among other important jobs, he did nearly a hundred and forty pounds' worth of work in building Mr. Thomas Oliver's fine house,¹¹ which under the name of "Elmwood" still stands stout and good.

He also dabbled in maritime interests. A strong streak of the sea was in his blood. The family name was well represented among the amphibious population of Salem, Marblehead, and Glou-

¹ Nutting Papers. Baptized 3 March, 1766. First Parish Records. Died 1784. Nutting Papers.

² Stone in Cambridge Churchyard.

³ Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 March, 1768. First Parish Records. Married Captain Daniel McNeil of North Carolina, 27 November, 1788, at Halifax, and had three children. Died circa 1795. Nutting Papers.

⁴ Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 May, 1770. First Parish Records. Died between 1776 and 1783. See *post*.

⁵ Nutting Papers. Baptized perhaps at Christ Church, for by this date Nutting had left the First Parish meeting. Died between 1776 and 1783.

⁶ Ditto.

⁷ First Parish Account Book labelled "1763."

⁸ When he went to Halifax he took two of them along. Memorial to Germain, 28 February, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁹ 71 Middlesex Deeds, 430.

¹⁰ Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

¹¹ "Account of Particulars of the Expences of Thomas Oliver's Buildings in Cambridge." Bristol, 2 October, 1783. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 48, Public Record Office, London.

cester,¹ and in the earliest records of the American Navy.² His father appears to have been the armorer of the little man-of-war *Prince of Orange* in the early 40's,³ and at his death left, according to the inventory of his estate, "a Sain 100 /-, codline 5 /-."⁴ Of his brothers, James was a "marriner"⁵ and Samuel a surgeon aboard the *Independence* and the *Rhodes* throughout the Revolution.⁶ His brother Jonathan was captured in the brig *Ruby* by the British and confined in the prison-ship at St. Lucia; but swam by night with ten companions to a vessel a mile off, overpowered her crew, and sailed away to freedom.⁷ Two of his nephews, master and mate, found a sailor's grave in the loss of the *Hercules*.⁸ He himself was paid "14/- for boating Mr. Serjeant's goods to Cambridge"⁹ when that gentleman arrived as the new rector of Christ Church in the summer of 1767. He was so familiar with the Bay of Fundy and the coast of Maine that he was able a few years later to act as pilot to one of the British expeditions therealong (of which more anon). This familiarity was evidently acquired on coasting-trips to secure his supplies of lumber, which, odd as it may sound, was then almost entirely brought to Boston from the shores of Maine.¹⁰

It was on these trips that he became interested in acquiring lands "to the Eastward," as the phrase then went — perhaps by

¹ J. K. Nutting, *Nutting Genealogy*, *passim*.

² Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, xi. *passim*.

³ Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), *passim*.

⁴ Middlesex Probate Records, No. 16138.

⁵ Middlesex Probate Records, No. 16140.

⁶ Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, xi. *passim*.

⁷ C. Eaton, *History of Thomaston*, i. 149.

⁸ *Idem*. ii. 341.

⁹ Christ Church Accounts.

¹⁰ At the outbreak of the Revolution he "left Lumber to the Eastward to the value of £ 40 lawful Money." Testimony before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. American Loyalists Transcripts, xiii. 301. Public Library, New York City. Moreover, as early as 1750, since "The Fire Wood near Boston is much exhausted, we are under a necessity of fetching it from the *Province of Main*, and Territory of *Sagadahock*. A Wood Sloop with three Hands makes about 15 Voyages *per Ann.* from the Eastward to Boston, may carry about 30 Cord Fire Wood each Voyage." W. Douglass, *A Summary . . . of the British Settlements in North America*, ii. 68.

the advice of brother Jonathan, who from 1767 onwards was making considerable purchases and sales of real estate in what is now Thomaston, Maine, and the coast adjacent.¹ Following his example, and little foreseeing the results on his own and indeed on his country's history, our John began investing in shore lots, quite in the modern manner, just across Penobscot Bay, in what is now Castine, and up the Bagaduce River.

Save for the straggling clearings of a few of the original grantees,² that region was then an unbroken wilderness, covered to the water's edge with those magnificent pines and other evergreens that afforded an apparently inexhaustible supply of the finest timber, especially masts and spars, in a day when masts and spars were a very real necessity. John Nutting set to work, either personally or by proxy, and in a few years was able to inventory his estates as:

"Two Houses to the Eastward of the Province of Massachusetts Bay £ 80" —

Two hundred acres & upwards of good Land in one of the most eligible situations in Penobscot purchased of the grantee³ who possessed the same upwards of 20 years, more than 30 Acres of which is well cleared and under Improvement, the rest Wooded & Estimated at the least computation at 1000 —

One third part of a Saw Mill adjoining s^d Land at Penobscot 70 —

A Farm partly cleared & Improved by myself on Bagwiduce River, 500 Acres 100 —" ⁴

He spent a good deal of money on this property and got considerable returns from it. In 1769 he had on one account with a brother housewright, Nathaniel Kidder of Medford, who was appar-

¹ Wiscasset Deeds, *passim*.

² See full lists in 117 Massachusetts Archives, and 24 "Court Records" (March, 1762).

³ Apparently named Busy. Testimony of "Josiah Henny, late of Penobscot" before the Commissioners 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 302. Public Library, New York City. The printed copies, generally more accurate, give the name Bary. A. Fraser, Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 59. Neither form has been otherwise identified.

⁴ A composite of two schedules, one dated Halifax, 15 January, 1784, the other undated, but heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Both in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

ently acting as his agent, no less than £378 lawful money, including many cash payments, the "freight" on forty bushels of corn, thirty-one barrels, etc.¹

But the year 1770 marks a sudden check in John Nutting's prosperous financial career, and somehow puts him in a hole from which he never completely extricated himself. He had been borrowing small sums from his father-in-law for a good while, and now had to mortgage his Cambridge property to him for £93.² Some of his Penobscot lands he had taken for bad debts,³ and there may have been other sums owing to him not so well secured. At any rate he could not raise ready cash to meet his local creditors, and their suits when once begun came thick and fast.⁴ Nathaniel Coolidge of Watertown brought suit against him in that year for lumber sold. In February, 1771, Kidder sued him for the "cash expended to the Eastward." In May the executor of Francis Dizer, "marriner" of Charlestown, sued him for promissory notes, probably on the same subject. In July Abijah Steadman, housewright, sued him on another note. In August John Smith, "taylor," sued him for eight pair of breeches, sundry lambskins and buttons. (The babies were evidently growing up.) In September Nathaniel Prentice, chaisemaker, sued him on an agreement which is so characteristic of the business methods of that day that it may stand repetition:

"for that whereas the pl^t on ye fourth Day of January last, at Cambridge afores^d had agreed with & promised ye s^d John to make & deliver to him, on or before the twenty fifth Day of April then next, another good Chaise such an one as ye pl^t had before that time made for one Francis Moore, ye s^d John in consideration thereof then & there promised ye pl^t to build for ye plaintiff a good Frame for a Barn of thirty Feet square, fourteen feet posts, oak sills, to be to the Acceptance of

¹ Kidder v. Nutting, Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, 1771. Original Files. In 1786 the charge for a passenger from Boston to Penobscot was 6s. i. Bangor Historical Magazine, 58.

² 71 Middlesex Deeds, 430.

³ Testimony of Lieutenant John Nutting before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 303. Public Library, New York City.

⁴ See original files of Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas. Clerk's Office, East Cambridge.

one Sam^l Choate & one John Walton & to be delivered at ye House of Joseph Miller of Charlestown on or before ye said twenty fifth of April, at ye price of Eleven pounds six shillings & Eight pence; and also to procure for ye pl^t another Frame twenty four feet in Length & twenty feet in Breadth with Oak Sills & fourteen feet posts, to be delivered at s^d prentice's Dwelling House in s^d Cambridge, on or before ye fifteenth Day of June then next at the price of Eight pounds & to be to the Acceptance of the s^d Choate and Walton, yet s^d Nutting has never delivered the last mentioned frame, nor ever paid the £6.13.4 . . ."

[Account annexed.]

"To a New Riding Chaise

£22. 0.0

Cr. By a Barn Frame £12 By a pair of Chaise

Wheels £3.6.8.

15. 6.8

Ball'a due to N. prentice

6.13.4 "

Nutting was evidently at his wits' end to raise money. He negotiated a second mortgage on his Cambridge property to his father-in-law, for £53.¹ He took at least one boarder.² Some of the suits he defaulted, others he contested on technicalities, and appealed, but did not prosecute the appeal. Occasionally he kept out of sight altogether, perhaps at Penobscot. In all the suits he lost his case. The amounts were generally trifling, and were probably settled by work at his trade. Kidder, whose claim was much the largest, actually proceeded to levy on Nutting's remaining interest in his twice-mortgaged house and lot, apparently conceded to be one-half: "containing a cellar measuring nine fott and four inches . . . the west end of the house containing a Lower Room partly finished a Chamber also a Bed-Chamber North of the Stairs unfinished also half the whole Garret unfinished with the one half of the Entry Ways and Stair Ways in the whole of the House."³ Prentice, in an attempt to find some property that could be come at by the time he began suit, attached Nutting's pew in the meeting-house: "One of the body Pews. the frunt pasfing [?] to Henry Prentice the back part to

¹ 72 Middlesex Deeds, 104.

² Mr. Nathaniel Rust. See his testimony before the Commissioners, *supra*, p. 57, note. Also his affidavit "that he resided at Cambridge many years preceding the late War." Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ 73 Middlesex Deeds, 279.

Owen Worlen the two Ends on two allies.”¹ From this time the unfortunate Nutting seems to have been an unchurched wanderer till he began attending Christ Church, just across the Common from his house. No doubt he already found his sympathies more with the Tory proprietors there than with the congregation in the meeting-house, with so many of whom he must have been by this time on bad terms. Even there he soon got into debt to the churchwardens, but in 1774 he was formally voted the rather unusual privilege of renting a pew, at 24/- per annum.²

And now we come to that memorable Thursday, the first of September, 1774, when the Revolution very nearly began at daybreak on Cambridge Common, and when John Nutting definitely cast in his lot with the supporters of law and order and the King’s government. In his own words, “receiving an Intimation from Colonel Phipps (Sheriff of the County) of General Gage’s intention to remove the Magazine of Powder deposited at that place to Boston; and soliciting the assistance of your Memorialist, he readily assisted; notwithstanding he had been previously importuned by a Mob to head them and prevent the Removal of it.”³ . . . which altogether with his open Avowal of principles of Loyalty, raised the resentment of the populace against him to such a Degree as obliged him to quit his House & Family, & take refuge in Boston, under the protection of the Kings Troops.”⁴

In Boston, whither his family soon followed him, he found himself in mighty genteel company,⁵ many of his richest and most prominent fellow townsmen having also made it convenient to get in closer touch with the authorities at about the same time or even

¹ Prentice v. Nutting. Original Files, *ubi supra*.

² Christ Church Records.

³ Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Cf. his testimony before the Commissioners: “. . . altho’ the Mob desired and insisted that as an Officer of Militia he should prevent the Ordnance from being removed.” xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 297. Public Library, New York City.

⁴ Memorial to Germain, “Read 22 Dec: 77.” Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ “We have here Earls, Lords & Baronets, I assure you Names that sound Grand.” Letter of Samuel Paine, Boston, Oct. 2-9, 1775. xxx. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 371.

earlier. From this point in his career indeed may be traced the beginnings of a knack of obtaining the friendship and confidence of the nobility and gentry that later developed to surprising proportions. To his credit it must be added that those friendships never seem to have been unmerited nor that confidence misplaced. Unlike so many of his fellow-Tories, whose firm adherence to the Crown was mainly evidenced by a prodigious capacity for running away, his own loyalty, as events soon proved, was of an extremely practical kind.

Boston was full of the King's troops, and more were arriving at short intervals. In the chill nights of the early autumn their tents were already becoming uncomfortable, and the need of substantial housing for them soon became imperative. The authorities prudently forbore to billet the unwelcome visitors upon the town, and decided to build special barracks for them.¹

The announcement of this design fell upon most unwilling ears. The dullest Bostonian could perceive that the erection of permanent barracks in his beloved and almost autonymous metropolis meant its degradation to the level of a mere garrison town. Moreover it was bruited on good authority that even if the present unhappy differences should be composed a garrison at Boston was to be maintained indefinitely, as a check on any possible future uprisings. The building of barracks immediately assumed the proportions of a grievance, adding one more to the already too plentiful stock of those commodities upon which the spirit of rebellion thrived. Attempts therefore to begin the work were met with a most effective passive resistance of the local mechanics. A trial of the regimental carpenters under the chief engineer Montrésor proved such a failure that Gage took measures to secure workmen from New York. "It's my opinion," remarked the observant Mr. John Andrews in his diary, "if they are wise, they won't come." And as a matter of fact they did n't, but snug on Manhattan Island contented themselves with passing the usual patriotic resolutions.²

¹ The printed accounts of the following episode are mainly to be found in i. P. Force, *American Archives*, 4th series, 802-821, and J. Andrews, *Diary*, viii. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 300. See also "Letters of Hugh Earl Percy," who was in direct charge of the camp.

² Some came later, and a pretty set they were. A few days before the evac-

Whereupon, "in consequence of the favorable representations of Lieutenant Governor Oliver and Gen. Gage's earnest solicitations," John Nutting came forward and stoutly undertook the unpopular post of master-carpenter, "being," as he afterwards boasted, "the first person of an American that entered into the King's service when the troubles began." His executive capacity was astonishing. In the midst of the general disaffection, by hook or crook he managed to secure some forty or fifty men,¹ and the barrack frames began to rise both on the Common and at the Neck. The sight was too much for the Selectmen. If they could not traverse the orders of the Governor, they could adopt indirect methods, and on September 24 they significantly resolved "that should the mechanicks or other inhabitants of this town assist the troops by furnishing them with artificers labourers or materials of any kind to build barracks or other places of accommodation for the troops, they will probably incur the displeasure of their brethren, who may withhold their contributions for the relief of the town, and deem them as enemies to the rights and liberties of *America*."

Gage saw the trick, and immediately sent for the Selectmen, "seemed a great deal worried," and with plentiful profanity represented that the work must go on, as the regiments had to be lodged somewhere. The wily Selectmen replied that for their own part they should actually prefer to see the soldiers kept together in barracks under discipline rather than scattered irresponsibly about the town, but that they had to consider the attitude of the surrounding places. In truth this was extremely threatening. "If they are suffered to proceed," observed Mr. Andrews, as to the imported laborers, "the matter is settled with us, for it is with the greatest difficulty that the country are restrained from coming in

nation one of the Selectmen wrote: "The Inhabitants in the utmost distress, thro' fear of the Town being destroyed by the Soldiers, a party of New York Carpenters with axes going thro' the town breaking open houses, &c. Soldiers and sailors plundering of houses, shops, warehouses." *Newell's Journal*. i. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th series, 274.

¹ Memorial to Germain, "Read 22 Decr 77." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London. He later explained that he got them "from the Country." Testimony before Commissioners, Halifax, 29 Dec. 1785. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 297. Public Library, New York City.

even now." The Governor next interviewed "King" Hancock, begging him to get the vote reconsidered; but in vain, and on the 26th, "at four o'clock the workmen *all* pack'd up their tools and left the barracks, frames, &c." The next day a combined meeting of the committees of all the neighboring towns voted not to supply the army with lumber, bricks, labor, or in short anything but those provisions "which mere humanity requires."

Affairs were now apparently at a stand. But the master-builder was a man of resource. The ship-carpenters from the fleet were pressed into service, while, acting no doubt on Nutting's knowledge of affairs "to the Eastward," an armed schooner was despatched to Halifax "for all the Artificers they can procure from there." Still the difficulties of the job were not over. On land the ship-carpenters proved in truth out of their element, "being very ignorant of the method of framing and indeed of any sort of work they wanted done," and had to be dismissed. Wages then unheard of were offered for a day's work — two dollars, three dollars, "or even any price at all" — but not a workman came forward.¹ Lumber soon became so scarce that it was hard to find boards enough to make even a coffin for the dead, to say nothing of a habitation for the living. A shipload of planks intended for Boston was seized by the rebels at Portsmouth, and got no farther. An old brick house at Point Shirley was torn down and turned into ill-constructed barrack chimneys. The troops were almost in mutiny for lack of their promised accommodations, and several regiments had to remain aboard the transports they arrived in, made fast along the wharves. Somehow Nutting struggled on with the work till about the middle of October,² when a party of carpenters arrived from Portsmouth (probably secured "at the Eastward"), and the idle and hungry Boston workmen had their first sight of "scabs" on high wages taking the bread out of their mouths. This was the last straw, and the usual recourse of all strikers followed. Nutting

¹ Montrésor, the Chief Engineer, reported that in his department on October 1 "an addition was thought absolutely necessary of 1 master carpenter, 1 foreman carpenter, 20 carpenters," etc. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 279.

² Captain Evelyn notices the occurrence briefly in a letter dated 31 October, 1774. He adds that the man was by way of being hanged. Letters of Captain W. G. Evelyn, 39.

was waylaid at night — but he shall tell the story in his own words, as found in his subsequent memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims:

“Several members of the Rebel Committee called on him and used every perswasion and promised every advantage to induce him to quit the King's Works; but after finding their Entreaties without effect they proceeded to Violence; a Mob the next day having concealed themselves, seized on your Memorialist on his Way from thence to his Lodgings in Boston and after almost killing him put him on board a Boat under charge of Four men with directions to convey him to Cambridge to be examined by the Committee then sitting there; but, fortunately for your Memorialist, thro' perswasion and a small consideration they were prevailed on to set him at Liberty near Cambridge from whence he returned to his Duty at the Lines; in passing from whence to his Lodgings or otherways, General Gage was pleased in future to furnish him with a Party of Men to protect him from the Insults of the Inhabitants.”¹

In some fashion therefore the barracks were finished, at least “at the lines,” — those on the Common seem to have been given up, — and by November 16 they were occupied; none too soon, for the number of fatal cases of illness from exposure was already considerable. Nutting's work however continued. There was much to be done, not only on the fortifications under Montrésor, of the Engineers, but on gun-carriages, ammunition-wagons, etc. under Colonel Cleaveland of the Royal Artillery,² and perhaps on the long-suffering lighthouse, which was at last repaired and relit in December of 1775.³ Press of business might well have been his excuse, if a polite one were needed, for his continued absence from home. By an odd retaliation in kind, his much encumbered house, or, as it was elegantly termed, “Seat in Cambridge in the Spring of the Year 1775 . . . was made a Barrack for the american Souldiers and

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785, at Halifax. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² See his certificate, London, 7 June, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ 23 December, 1775. Howe to Dartmouth. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 271. At least one party of carpenters at work there was kidnapped by the provincials, but Nutting evidently was not included.

much Damaged thereby.”¹ It was later taken possession of by his ex-master, backer, father-in-law and mortgagee² John Walton, on a quite excusable “Idea that Mr. Nutting’s Family have cost him that much.”³

Our loyal carpenter continued actively employed in Boston until within about six weeks of the evacuation. Then under orders from Captain Spry he removed, with his wife, six children, two ‘prentices, and “about fourteen artificers” to Halifax, leaving, as it proved, his native heath forever, — leaving too a memory that rankled in the patriotic breast for many a long day. Small wonder that in the Proscription Act of October, 1778, he is one of the few Cambridge men specifically enumerated as having “left this state . . . and joined the enemies thereof . . . manifesting an inimical disposition . . . and a design to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purposes.”⁴

His work at Halifax through that heart-breaking spring of 1776 can be easily imagined. If ever a housewright was needed, it was then and there. We are all familiar with the picture — the miserable little fishing village, with a proportion of foul dram-shops before which the typical western mining town seems a Shaker settlement,⁵ completely overwhelmed by the multitude of gently-nurtured refugees, whole families seated crying on the surf-beaten rocks without so much as a tent over their heads, lacking food, fuel, and above all shelter.⁶ If it was not Nutting’s idea it was at least characteristic of him to have devised the expedient of getting

¹ Affidavits of John Walton, Cambridge, and Renjamin Walton, Reading. 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² And apparently also his successor as lieutenant of the Cambridge company. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

³ Claimant’s testimony before the Commissioners. Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 300. Public Library, New York City. With characteristic assurance Nutting some years later demanded compensation for his Cambridge property to the tune of £735. See schedules mentioned on page 94.

⁴ *Province Laws, 1778–1779*, 2nd Session, chapter 24.

⁵ One of the inhabitants wrote in 1760: “The business of one half the town is to sell rum, and the other half to drink it.” ii. T. C. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, 13.

⁶ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 21 April, 1776.

ashore the cabooses and deck-houses of the transports and converting them into whole streets of little huts.¹ We can fancy how vigorously he must have pushed forward the work. Cabins, sheds, camps, anything that the limited supply of lumber allowed, had to be run up as fast as possible, ruined cottages repaired and made tenantable, the dazed and drunken fishermen driven to work, the inefficient shipwrights from the fleet made the most of, something provided in the way of wharves and landing facilities, store-sheds, more barracks again, and what not.

The fortifications of the town too were in a perilous state. Although Halifax had already been termed "the northern key of His Majesty's American dominions"² and a royal dockyard established there, yet the defences had been allowed to go to rack and ruin; batteries were dismantled, gun-carriages decayed and guns on the ground. In fact the town lay practically "open to the country on every side."³ At last the sudden military importance of the station and the persistent and disquieting rumors of an attack upon it⁴ moved the home government to decided action, and the army estimates for 1776 contemplated an expenditure of nearly £1500 sterling on constructions and repairs there.⁵ It was not an easy matter to get the work done. In that scattered and unskilled community, where a few years before two distillers, two hatters and a sugar-baker made up the entire manufacturing class,⁶ it was next to impossible to obtain either materials or workmen. Again, however, Nutting ap-

¹ E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. American Historical Review, 67.

² Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 January, 1769; 43 Provincial Archives, No. 67. Halifax.

³ Legge to Dartmouth, 19 August, 1775; 44 Provincial Archives, 76. Halifax.

⁴ E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. American Historical Review, 65.

⁵ The items were divided among the "Square Store for Small Arms, the Long Store for Small Arms, Bedding Store, Laboratory, Ordinance Yard, Gun Taakling Store, Junk Store, Lumber Yard, Artillery Barracks, Armourer's Shop, Governor's Battery, South Gate Battery, South Five Gun Battery, North Five Gun Battery, and Inclosing Land reserved for his Majesty on the hill." vi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 141. Judging by later plans of the city, not much of this work was actually accomplished.

⁶ Francklin to Hillsborough, 11 July, 1768. J. Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives, 1894," 287.

pears to have done wonders, and among other feats to have built by August no less than ten large block-houses, each mounting sixteen guns.¹ We may safely assume that he earned his pay at Halifax "as Master Carpenter and Superintendant of Mechanics," "serving," as one of the officers present put it, "with Active Spirit and uncommon Loyalty."²

Moreover he soon found other methods of displaying these qualities. The year 1777 saw the most elaborate preparations which Great Britain took to suppress the rebellion. The great movement to isolate New England was not properly worked out in detail, but it did include some appreciation of the importance of diverting the attention of the revolutionists by demonstrations along the coast-line, while the main columns operated inland. To the originators of the campaign "it was always clear in speculation that the Militia would never stay with Washington or quit their homes if the coast was kept in alarm."³ Moreover it was necessary to clear the shores of the swarm of small privateers that infested the Gulf of Maine and played havoc with the Nova Scotia settlements and the communication between Halifax and New York.⁴ Besides, there were rumors of a secret expedition fitting out at Boston in June, to attack the British fort at the mouth of the St. John's in the Bay of Fundy.⁵ From Halifax, therefore, an expedition was arranged "to Saint John's River to meet the garrison of Fort Cumberland and to proceed to Machias and destroy that nest of pirates, and afterwards to go to the east coast of New England towards Gouldsbury, to cause an alarm in favor of General Burgoyne."⁶ The fleet operations were entrusted to Admiral Collier, and the troops were put under the command of John Small, the efficient organizer of the newly raised corps of Royal Highland Immigrants. For this expe-

¹ iv. J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 139.

² Certificate of Major John Small, 8 March, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ Knox to Germain, 31 October, 1778; vi. Historical Manuscript Commission Reports, Various, 153.

⁴ Cf. iv. J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 139. E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia During the Revolution." x. *American Historical Review*, 69, etc.

⁵ F. Kidder, *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, 185.

⁶ Massey to Howe, 26 November, 1777; i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, *American Manuscripts*, 156.

dition John Nutting's familiarity with the coast was of evident value, and, according to Small, he "did very chearfully and without any reward offer his Service as a Pilot or in any other way he could be of use for the Publick Service then carrying on;" and although "there was no pay allowed him on that Occasion," showed himself "a deserving good Subject, still ready & willing to exert himself as Such."¹

Through no fault of his, however, the enterprise miscarried. The transports reached their destination with no errors in pilotage that we know of; but, in the words of the disgusted General Massey, commanding at Halifax, "after the Lieut. Governor and I had fix'd every appointment with good Guides at a great Expense for a Grand Stroke and while Major Small was prancing at St. John's River, the place of Rendezvous for the Troops from Cumberland and Windsor Sir George Collier stole out of Halifax, made a futile Attack at Machias, was most shamefully drove from thence . . . which prevented the Eastern Coast of New England from being Alarm'd which was my orders to Major Small, and which if they had been executed might have prevented the Misfortunes that attend'd Lt. Genl. Burgoyne's army, for it was at that critical time."² The jealous and self-sufficient Collier, after some gasconading up and down the coast, retired to St. John's in September, where in October the expedition disintegrated without accomplishing a single one of its objects.

Explanations to the home government were certainly needed, and whether Nutting was entrusted with them, or sent as a witness, or went on his own initiative, is not clear. At all events he sailed immediately for England, taking with him his son John, now a likely lad nearly eight years old. Arriving in the old country, which must have seemed so new to him, he at once sought out his former superiors, the ex-governor and ex-lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, obtained written recommendations from them, dated 28 November, 1777, and drew up a memorial to Lord George Germain.³ This document, compared with the usual lugu-

¹ See note 2, page 70.

² Massey to Howe. Halifax, 15 March, 1778; i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 209.

³ All to be found in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

brious recitals of sufferings and insistent claims for compensation for the loss of fat fees or swollen salaries, with which the bulk of the loyalists flooded the government, is remarkably refreshing. After mentioning his undoubted services he states "That your Memorialist has no wish to be supported in Idleness at the Charge of Government, but is willing and desirous to be further serviceable in the way of his Trade; and as Carpenters are wanted at New York, & probably in other parts of America, he is come to England in Hopes of obtaining such employment, & will be very ready to go out immediately, — With this view your Memorialist humbly Solicits your Lordships patronage & for further Information respecting his Character, Services & Sufferings he begs leave to refer your Lordship to the Right Honorable Lord Percy to his Excellency General Gage, to Lieutenant Governor Oliver, and other Officers both Civil and Military to whom the foregoing Transactions are well known."

This memorial was promptly transmitted by William Knox, Germain's under-secretary, to John Robinson of the Treasury Board, who took equally prompt action upon it. It bears the endorsement: "Read 22 Dec. 77 £50 advance & to be recommended to the Com'rs at New York." Such a substantial recognition of a man standing squarely on his own merits, in that heyday of influence and favoritism, shows better than any testimonials what manner of impression Mr. Nutting had already made in official circles.

The fifty pounds was paid, but the recommendation to New York must have been somehow overlooked; for on 28 February, 1778, Nutting addressed another memorial¹ to Lord George, from "78 Lambs Conduit Street," asking for further assistance, as he is still out of employment. This was transmitted by Knox to the Treasury Board on March 16, received April 20, and not read till July 8; it bears the chilly endorsement "Nil." Not waiting for this result, with real Yankee persistence, Nutting addressed, May 8, a personal letter² to Lord North himself, referring to the memorial, and proceeding: "I shall only presume to add, I desire not to eat the bread of Idleness, being able & willing to be em-

¹ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² *Ibid.*

ployed, as formerly, in His Majesty's Service, where my Utility & perseverance is well known to the Generals, & Subordinate Officers that have served in America during the War — Many of whom are now in this Metropolis, & to whom I most gladly would Appeal." This direct application to the man "higher up" was successful, though not in quite the manner anticipated, and Nutting received from the Board of Ordnance the appointment of Overseer of His Majesty's works at Landguard Fort.¹

This post, on the outermost verge of the East Anglian coast, protecting the harbor of Harwich, the first considerable estuary north of the Thames, had long been considered of great importance. Just at this period, when war had recently been declared with Holland, it was receiving special attention. The marshy wastes beside it made an admirable proving ground for big guns, as well as an admirable location for a wholesomely impressive display of force. Accordingly from 1776 for a number of years extensive experiments were conducted there on a great many forms of ordnance shipped by water from Woolwich — experiments almost as instructive (though not as dangerous) to the Dutch luggers hovering off the coast as to the manipulators of untried types of the tricky cast-iron cannon of that day. The fort itself was neither as strong nor as commodious² as its importance warranted. During this time it was much enlarged, and also strengthened in flank and rear by a very elaborate system of defence works, under the direction of Lord Townshend, Master General of the Ordnance.³ So extensive were these constructions that two overseers were required. Nutting, however, was the chief, receiving £91.5/- per annum, or five shillings a day, while John Jones, his assistant, had only £73.⁴ As the additions included a number of new barracks, we may well believe that he felt quite in his element.

Yet he found time to show himself in town occasionally, and to

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² In 1777 its complete establishment was only 87 men, all told. viii. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 185.

³ J. H. Leslie, History of Landguard Fort, 76 *et seq.* One of the new redoubts was named the Raynham, after his Norfolk county-seat.

⁴ xvi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 511.

cultivate his acquaintance with Knox. With this active and important official he was now on surprisingly intimate terms, whether from the favorable representations of others or from sheer native ability and address. One likes to think the latter, and to imagine the Cambridge carpenter haunting the office of the under-secretary with his petitions and memorials until he comes into notice by his energetic ways, coupled with that winning and persuasive manner that had served him in such good stead one night during the siege of Boston, in a boat on the Charles with four angry journeymen. At any rate, Nutting actually becomes a figure in the councils of the British Empire at one of its greatest crises — an adviser of generals and a *protégé* of lords, — under the following circumstances:

Knox had been from the first obsessed with the importance of planting a British force on the coast of Maine. Besides its effects in distracting attention, a post there, he argued,¹ would give a station for the King's cruisers much nearer than Halifax, would cover the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia from molestation by sea, would prevent any land attack on what later became New Brunswick, and would even protect Lower Canada. Furthermore, it would form the nucleus and bulwark for a new province,² towards which might be directed the stream of refugees who were leaving the colonies and already driving the home government to distraction. He had even gone so far as to arrange the details for this modern Canaan. Lying between New England and "New Scotland," it was to be christened New Ireland,³ perhaps in delicate reference to Knox's own nationality. Its governor was to be Thomas Hutchinson, its chief justice Daniel Leonard, its clerk of the council John Calef, the leading local tory, and its bishop (for *this* colony was to have a

¹ Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

² The idea was not new. Even the original settlers were anxious, or were represented to be anxious, to have a government of their own, and Bernard fomented the proposition. But wiser heads would have none of it. J. Calef, *Siege of the Penobscot*, Postscript. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dartmouth Papers, *passim*. Franklin to Cushing, London, 7 July, 1773. vi. B. Franklin, Writings (ed. Smyth), 80.

³ This was not the first effort toward the hibernization of Maine. In the previous generation Robert Temple had formed a brilliant but unsuccessful plan to settle an Irish colony near Bath. L. D. Temple, *Some Temple Pedigrees*, 6.

bishop willy-nilly) Dr. Henry Caner, formerly of King's Chapel, Boston. This "most preposterous measure," wrote Hutchinson from London,¹ "... is his own scheme, and few people here think well of it." Germain was at first among the disbelievers, but Knox finally "accomplished what he had been endeavouring" and brought his chief round to his opinion.

Then came the great question: Where should the post be located? Falmouth, Long Island, Townsend, Great Deer Island,—all were under discussion. Here John Nutting was called into the consultation. Mindful of his own "eligible" acres, and doubtless recognizing too the natural strength and strategic advantages² of the place (which events both past and future amply corroborated), with a fine mixture of self-interest and loyalty he suggested Penobscot. Yankee shrewdness and eloquence prevailed. His Majesty's ministers fell in with the suggestion,³ and Nutting, "in Consequence of pointing out Government (by Mr. Knoxes desire) some places that might be taken advantageous to Government was on the 30th August, 1778, ordered from Landguard Fort to London by express to go out with despatches to America . . . from the Right Honorable Lord George Germain's office to Sir Henry Clinton at New York."⁴ His special part in the enterprise was, as he announced openly at London, "to be employed as overseer of carpenters who are to rebuild the Fort at Penobscot,"⁵ originally

¹ T. Hutchinson, Diary, 19 September, 1778, and 20 October, 1779. Hutchinson's name was soon dropped in this connection.

² "The harbor is spacious, accessible, and secure, none in the neighborhood can be compared with it. . . . No country could afford greater supply of masts and spars for the Royal navy. Nor could any station afford equal convenience for annoying in time of war, yea, annihilating the commerce of New England." W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii. Bangor Historical Magazine, 45.

³ The current Boston explanation was that the failure of Massachusetts "to supply the eastern people [with food] as they had done during the war" had produced a disaffection which the local tories had made the most of in persuading the inhabitants generally "to join in a petition to the enemy to come and take possession of the place." James Sullivan to John Sullivan; Boston, 30 August, 1779. ii. T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, 376. The explanation suggests a certain guiltiness in the New England conscience.

⁴ Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ T. Hutchinson, Diary, 3 September, 1778.

erected by the Sieur de Castine, and left in ruins when the French abandoned that-district in 1745.¹

But in the execution of this ingenious method of protecting his cherished property "to the Eastward" an incidental divertissement of some magnitude awaited its author. Leaving John Jr. at school in London, and receiving his despatches dated at Whitehall 2 September, 1778,² he posted down to Falmouth and embarked, with £50 worth of "Sea Stock necessary for the Voyage" and "some valuable Books on Fortification & Architecture and Instruments,"³ aboard the *Harriet*, one of the government mail packets.⁴ A fortnight out, having got no farther than lat. 49° long. 22°, they were sighted by the brigantine *Vengeance*, American privateer, Wingate Newman of Newburyport master. He at once gave chase.⁵ The *Harriet* was a fast sailer, as befitted her employment, but the Yankee was a larger ship, specially fitted for her business, and brand new to boot. After a six hours' pursuit Newman got within range and opened fire. Sampson Sprague, commander of the packet, replied gallantly, but his little three-pounders and crew of forty-five were no match for the six-pounders and the hundred men of the privateer. Within pistol-shot the lat-

¹ Cf. G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine. J. Williamson, History of Maine, etc.

² i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 284.

³ Account annexed to memorial to Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ This craft had quite a prominent part in the transport and mail service. She is frequently mentioned in contemporary documents.

⁵ 17 September, 1778. Members of both ships' companies have left accounts of this affair. For the American, see Journal of Samuel Nye, Surgeon of the *Vengeance*, E. V. Smith, History of Newburyport, 116: for the English, see affidavit of Ab'm Forst, Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. I suspect this Forst, like Rust, was one of Nutting's loyal apprentices who followed his master's fortunes. If we can twist the name into Abraham Frost, we not only have the Cambridge man, born 1754, enumerated by L. R. Paige, History of Cambridge, 554-555, but also have an explanation why "this fam. prob. rem. as no further trace of them is found." For other details of the capture of the *Harriet*, see i. J. J. Currier, History of Newburyport, Mass., 629. London Chronicle, 22-24 October, 1778: E. S. Maclay, History of American Privateers, 117. C. H. Lincoln, Naval Records of the American Revolution, 113.

ter threw in a broadside that obliged the *Harriet* to strike, having one man killed and six wounded. Among the latter was Nutting, whom we can well imagine in the very thick of the fight, for he was hit "in four places."¹ Nevertheless he managed to sink his despatches, which he "declared were of great consequence to him," as indeed they were. The mails also were thrown overboard just in time. The *Harriet's* people were taken aboard the *Vengeance*, stripped of their effects, and landed at Corunna,² the nearest point on the Spanish coast, but a most unusual prize port. By an agreement³ between the British Consul there and Captain Newman the prisoners were exchanged and allowed to pass unmolested to England again. In about six weeks Nutting accordingly arrived at Falmouth once more (fare twelve guineas), having lost £120 worth of personal outfit, and being put to an expense of £20 for surgeons, nurses and medical attendance, and wended his way by postchaise (fare £15) back to London.⁴ It was now too late in the season to do anything more about New Ireland. Even Knox, its sponsor, wrote: "Poor Nutting and the Penobscott orders have missed their way for this year, and I fear something will happen to prevent our taking possession of that country in the spring."⁵

All the same, he determined to have another try at his plan, and to have it early and by the same hands. In the beginning of January, 1779, Mr. Nutting received a fresh set of despatches, and was "order'd out again to America the second time before his Wounds

¹ Claimant's evidence before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 298. Public Library, New York City.

² It is a strange freak that makes John Nutting's wanderings intersect the military termini of Sir John Moore, who entered active service at Penobscot and left it at Corunna. British Plutarch, 243.

³ 1 October, 1778. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 307. It is a family tradition that Nutting's high rank in Freemasonry procured his "escape" from a Spanish prison. W. F. Parker, Life of Daniel McNeill Parker, 12. But while this advantage may account for various other fortunate turns in his history, it does not need to be invoked here.

⁴ Account of Expenses annexed to memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ Knox to Germain. Bath, 31 October, 1778. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, Various, 153-4.

were well, experiencing a long and tedious Passage of ffourteen Weeks to New York, on the *Grampus* ship of war"¹ (this time taking a safer conveyance). Clinton had by now got general intimations of the plan, and some correspondence² had passed between him and General McLean, the new commander at Halifax, on the subject. McLean was personally ignorant³ of the shore-line, and had been consulting Captain Mowatt, his naval officer. The latter recommended taking post at Falmouth, the scene of his most notorious exploit, to which he doubtless longed to give the finishing touches. Detailed instructions, however, were brought by Nutting, and Clinton, by orders dated 13 April,⁴ directed McLean to proceed and fortify a post on Penobscot River, — rather to the disappointment of all the officers concerned.

McLean seems to have put full confidence in the "cheerful Pilot," and prompt preparations were made. On May 16th the detachment was reported ready. At the end of that month the transports sailed, covered by Mowatt and a few inefficient men-of-war. In the middle of June the fleet came up Penobscot Bay, and after several days' general reconnoissance cast anchor off the little peninsula that ever since 1506 had been a recognized strategic centre round which an almost continuous struggle for supremacy had revolved.⁵

On the 26th the landing began, the troops looking about them "as frightened as a flock of sheep,"⁶ and John Nutting doubtless hastened to inspect his farm, woodland, and mill, now to be so handsomely protected against possible rebel molestation. Yet he could give little time to his private affairs just then, for the mil-

¹ Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 381, 393, etc.

³ This ignorance was merely practical, for the magnificent series of charts by Des Barres had already been published.

⁴ i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 415. See also 436, 458, etc., for many of the following details.

⁵ Cf. G. F. Clark, "Military Operations at Castine," Worcester Society of Antiquity, Proceedings for 1889, 18 — a good general account of all the martial doings there, including a far earlier attack and repulse of the Massachusetts forces.

⁶ "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 322.

itary position must be made good at once. "The Provisions, Artillery and Engineer Stores and the equipage of the troops, being landed on the Beach, must be carried to the Ground of the fort chiefly by the labor of the men against the ascent, there being only a Couple of small teams to Assist in it. The ground & all the Avenues to it, was to be examined, cleared from wood, and at the same time guarded. Materials were to be collected & prepared, And the defences, as well as every convenience of the fort, were to be reared."¹ The ruins of the French fort were apparently disregarded, and an entirely new one was laid out. The official engineer was Captain Hartcup;² but his plans proved defective and had to be altered, probably by the master-carpenter. There were other delays too, and it was July 2d before the lines were actually staked and work begun.³ The local inhabitants were divided in their attitude, as everywhere else. Some stoutly proclaimed their adherence to the United States of America, and when approached with the oath of allegiance made good their words by packing their scanty possessions and departing into the backwoods. Others to the number of a hundred showed their willingness by assisting to clear the ground round the fort, etc. A simple rectangular structure of logs and earthwork two hundred feet on a side⁴ with corner bastions and a central blockhouse was laid out, a "shade" erected for the provisions, the powder "lodged in covered holes dug in the proposed glacis," a ditch cut across the isthmus, and the work pushed forward with a will.

The expected attack was not long in coming. Of the consternation and indignation of Massachusetts at this invasion of her territory, of the feverish fitting-out of the Penobscot Expedition, "by far the largest naval undertaking of the Revolution made by the Americans," there is no need to tell here in detail. Well

¹ Mowatt's "Relation," Magazine of History, Extra Number 11 (1910), 49.

² Elsewhere spelled, and doubtless pronounced, Hardcap. In like manner Mowatt becomes Moat; and Calef masquerades as Calf. Rather oddly, Hartcup's next assignment was to Landguard Fort. i. W. Porter, History of the Corps of Royal Engineers, 215.

³ McLean to Clinton, Camp at Majebigwaduce, 23 August, 1779. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 14.

⁴ This was the inside measurement. That mentioned by Ballard — 14 perches (= 231 feet) — was evidently the measurement outside the glacis.

known too is the story of the arrival of that formidable Yankee fleet off the little peninsula before the fort was half completed, the extraordinary indecision of the ensuing siege, and its shameful termination. "Rarely has a more ignominious military operation been made by Americans. Had it been successful, it would not have been worth the effort it cost. Its object had no national significance; it was an eccentric operation. Bad in conception, bad in preparation, bad in execution, it naturally ended in disaster and disgrace."¹ "A prodigious wreck of property, a dire eclipse of reputation, and universal chagrin were the fruits of this expedition, in the promotion of which there had been such an exalted display of public spirit both by government and individuals."² Among the twenty transports destroyed was the whole trading fleet of the State. Destroyed also were thirteen privateers, temporarily taken into the State service. Among these was the *Vengeance*, then in command of Captain Thomas; and though the phrase "poetic justice" may not have been known to Mr. Nutting, the sight of his old captor blazing and crackling on the Penobscot flats must have been the sweetest moment of the campaign to her ex-prisoner.³

Concerned as we are with but one figure in the story, we must admit that the master-carpenter all this time seems to have lain extremely low. Indeed, for the only time in his history it is recorded that his workmen did not "pay proper attention" to him. We get one glimpse of him accompanying a party sent for lumber up the Bagaduce River, perhaps to his own wood-lot.⁴ But his

¹ C. O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, 347, 352.

² ii. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, 476. In the opinion of well-informed British officers taking part in this affair the results strikingly justified many of Knox's theories. "The attack on Penobscot . . . was positively the severest blow received by the American Naval force during the War. The trade to Canada, which was intended, after the expected reduction of the Post of Penobscot, to be intercepted by this very armament, went safe that Season: The New England Provinces did not for the remaining period of the contest recover the loss of Ships, and the Expence of fitting out the Expedition: Every thought of attempting Canada, & Nova Scotia, was thenceforth laid aside, and the trade & Transports from the Banks of Newfoundland along the Coast of Nova Scotia, &c: enjoyed unusual Security." Captain Henry Mowatt's "Relation," *Magazine of History*, Extra Number 11 (1910), 53.

³ E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 118.

⁴ *Orderly Book of William Lawrence, Serjeant Royal Artillery*, July 17,

peculiarly personal interest in the occupation and defence of the place had of course transpired, and when during the siege things seemed almost hopeless for His Majesty's forces¹ his situation was one demanding as much self-effacement as his nature was capable of. In a subsequent enumeration of his sufferings at Penobscot he mentions not only "enduring a Seige of Twenty Days, the fatigues of establishing a New Fort," but also "the part he had to act, and the reflexions thrown out against him by numbers of the officers when they were informed your Memorialist was the cause of their being carried there, under an idea that he had sold them to the Rebels, with the anxiety that must attend him, is more sensibly felt than expressed."² His attitude even partook of duplicity. Admiral Collier wrote to General Clinton, August 24, 1779, after the smoke of battle had somewhat cleared away, expressing his strong disapprobation of establishing a post at this dreary rebellious place, and adding: "That fellow Nutting whom yr. Exc'y remembers at New York has just been with me on a message; I asked him what could possibly induce him to recommend the establishing a settlement in such a place, & what advantages might be expected from it? He denied his having ever recommended the measure to Lord G. Germain, nor could I learn from him what particular benefits would accrue to us, by keeping possession of so infernal a spot."³

Nevertheless, the value of Nutting's aid was officially and handsomely recognized. McLean certified that he "served under my

1779, and August 30. v. Bangor Historical Magazine, 146 *et seq.* A typical smack of the region is given in the disagreeable orders for September 17, that the commissary must thereafter "deliver out rice in lieu of pies."

¹ When the provincials effected their first landing on the peninsula, McLean was so sure all was up that he stood by the flagstaff halliards himself, ready to strike his colors. "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, 323. Cf. a racy letter from E. Hazard, Jamaica Plain, 22 March, 1780. iv. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 129.

² Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 18. In his more self-assertive and characteristic moments he made no bones of claiming, in true carpenter's spelling, that "that Expedition was planed at his Recommendation." Testimony before the Commissioners. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 298. Public Library, New York City.

Command on the Expedition to Penobscot much to my satisfaction, on my taking post there. I appointed him Overseer of Works, which duty he performed with Zeal and fidelity to the King's service."¹ General Campbell, who was left in command of the place, "in consideration of his Attachment to His Majesty's Government," made a "Gratuitous Grant" to Mrs. Nutting of "a lot of Land to settle upon . . . on the N. E. Side of y^e Road Leading to Fort George, formerly the Property of Joseph Pirkins now in Rebellion."² As it was evident that he could not return to Cambridge, the Overseer seems to have regarded this lot in the light of a homestead; upon it he built a house which he valued at £150.

The success of this little invasion was quite extraordinary.³ It was so dwelt upon by the British, who had not overmuch in that line to offer, that it drew the satire of Horace Walpole on the "destruction of a whole navy of walnut shells at a place as well known as Pharsalia called Penobscot,"⁴ and sundry ingenious gentlemen came forward to share the honor of its authorship or to offer suggestions for improving on the situation.⁵ It was a bitter pill for the pride of the old Bay State, and the fiasco which had permitted it to continue was as a draught of wormwood to wash it down withal. Baffled and resourceless, the Massachusetts Council bethought themselves of the great provincial panacea, and rushed blindly for aid to the one man who never lost his head. Washington in a stern letter, dated 17 April, 1780, pointed out the impossibility of any successful recapture of the place in the then desperate circumstances of the whole military establishment. No troops could be spared except the militia, who, he cuttingly observed, if defeated,

¹ Certificate, Halifax, 16 May, 1780. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² Fort George, Penobscot, 21 June, 1781. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ Cf. i. T. Jones, *New York during the Revolution*, 297.

⁴ Walpole to Countess of Ossory, 24 September, 1779.

⁵ The domineering Col. Thomas Goldthwait hastened to New York to offer his services to Clinton in raising a regiment to defend the post. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, *American Manuscripts*, 20, 45. He wrote to Admiral Arbuthnot to the same effect. ii. H. M. C. R., *Stopford-Sackville Papers*, 149. Strange to say, he too owned extensive tracts in the vicinity. ix. *Maine Historical Magazine*, 23.

would "escape with difficulty, no doubt with disgrace." Nor, he reminded them, could such an attempt be made without a naval force, the total lack of which (thanks to themselves, he might have added) was fast becoming a fatal defect on the American side.¹

Luckily for the republicans that indispensable factor was soon supplied by their French allies. During the spring of 1781, while the British fleet was busy in the Chesapeake and the French squadron idle at Newport, the Massachusetts men saw a golden opportunity. Their proposals were favorably received by Destouches, who agreed to furnish five vessels, while Rochambeau was to supply six hundred infantry, for an attack on Penobscot. Massachusetts was to contribute a force of militia, but broke down; and Washington quietly advised Rochambeau to put no trust in this part of the agreement, but to proceed himself as speedily and secretly as possible. After much preparation Destouches decided that the naval risk was too great, and all was abandoned.²

Yet the instinct of Massachusetts was that of the she-bear robbed of her cub. The next summer Vaudreuil anchored his great fleet in Nantasket Roads, and Governor Hancock appealed to him to strike a *coup de main* at "that troublesome post" whither John Nutting had led the King's troops. The admiral seemed to approve, and the governor made some preparations on his own account. But the general of the allies disapproved, and Washington supported his view. Thus for the fourth time was Massachusetts foiled in her attempt to regain the conquered portion of her own territory.³

Still, regularly as the year came round, the thoughts of the Bay State turned to Penobscot. On 8 February, 1783, the Legislature addressed a letter to Washington on the same old subject, "a post too beneficial to them and too dangerous to the safety of this and the other states in the Union to suffer us to remain indifferent, passive observers of their measures." With a doubtful regard for historical accuracy, the writers represented that since the defeat of the State expedition "our whole attention from that period to the present has been drawn from our own and fixed on the more

¹ Washington to President of Congress, 17 April, 1780.

² Washington to Rochambeau, 10 April, 1781. Cf. viii. J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, 10, note.

³ Washington to Hancock, 10 August, 1782.

dangerous and distressed situation" of the more southern colonies, but "that as the enemy have now left the southern states, and as there is no particular object that seems to engage the attention of the army," it would be a good time to send enough regiments "to dispossess the enemy or at least such a number as will confine them to their present possessions," as "we are apprehensive that they will in the spring take possession of the river Kennebeck."¹

Washington patiently replied that if peace was soon declared there would be no need of further attention to Penobscot; but if not, all efforts must be concentrated in a final attack on New York. And Massachusetts had to rest content with his suggestive statement that he should always be ready to concur in any "judicious" plan for retaking the eastern frontiers, "a territory whose utility is very deeply impressed upon me."²

Amidst these wars and rumors of wars the garrison at Penobscot were constantly on the alert. They continued their defensive works until "the viperine nest,"³ as the patriots feelingly termed it, was reported to be "the most regularly constructed and best finished of any in America."⁴ Frequent forays were made into the surrounding settlements, and not a few distinguished Sons of Liberty were temporarily deprived of their birthright and placed in *durance vile* at the central blockhouse.⁵ Several of these energetic gentry, however, contrived to penetrate Mr. Nutting's handiwork and depart in peace, if not with honor. Use also was made of the excellent harbor. The naval force was constantly changing. Vessels of war, transports, victuallers, privateers, and their prizes,

¹ Massachusetts Archives, 44 "Court Records," 304.

² Head Quarters, Newburgh, 22 Feb. 1783. Massachusetts Archives, "Letters, 1780-1788," 136.

³ i. Maine Historical Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 397.

⁴ Washington to Vaudreuil, 10 August, 1782.

⁵ Among them, General Cushing, of Pownalboro, General Wadsworth, of Thomaston, Daniel, brother of General Sullivan, etc. See Calef, Wheeler, Williamson, etc. It is an instructive example of the astounding distortion of the average American "history," to note the shrieks of protest against the *inhumanities* and *outrages* practised by the British — how Mowatt once threatened a rebellious native with his sword, etc. — while brutalities of the Colonials, like Wadsworth's summary hanging of a miserable half-witted tory guide, are passed over in silence, or condoned as unfortunate necessities of war.

made the scene busy and occasionally exciting; as when the dashing Preble, in a night attack, cut out an English brig lying close to shore and escaped without a scratch,¹ or Capt. George Little, by a daring stratagem, accomplished a similar feat.²

During this period many loyalists removed to this haven of refuge, and a sort of New Ireland *de facto* began to take shape. By the end of the war the settlement had grown from half a dozen huts to thirty-seven houses, some of two stories, with wharves, stores, etc., all the product of loyal hands.³ Another petition was sent to England asking to have the separate government established.⁴ The authority of Massachusetts, despite her asseverations, was so thoroughly broken that "no place eastward of Penobscot was called upon for taxes or contributions after this [expedition] till the close of the war"; although this exemption was carefully explained as due to tender consideration of the sufferings the inhabitants underwent from the British.⁵

In brief, then, futile as the original idea may have been in theory, in practice the occupation of Penobscot had turned out a surprising success; Knox, with some show of reason, plumed himself upon "my plan" and its results.⁶

And how fared John Nutting, the humble *causa causans* of it all? During the winter and spring of 1779-80 he seems to have been pretty well occupied with the care of his own and his Majesty's property at Castine. His wife had joined him there soon after the siege, and there little Sophia Elizabeth was born, 23 September, 1780.⁷ But farming and small garrison work were too tame

¹ J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 395.

² "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 327. i. C. Eaton, History of Thomaston, Maine, 134. Cf. payment of 24 May, 1781, "To Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell of the 71st foot, for the losses sustained by the George transport being taken by the rebels £39. 18. =." xxiv. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 639. From the same source we learn that £21 was considered sufficient remuneration "to Capt. Alexander Campbell of the 74th foot for the cure of his thigh, which was broke at Penobscott, in June, 1779."

³ 145 Massachusetts Archives, 377.

⁴ J. Calef, Siege of the Penobscot, 40.

⁵ ii. J. Williamson, History of Maine, 481, note.

⁶ ii. W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, 60.

⁷ Nutting Papers. She married Michael B. Grant, 10 July, 1800, and bore him eight children ere his death in 1817. She herself died in 1862.

for our budding strategist, and encouraged by the local sentiment he began to nurse the idea of repeating his former success with the ministry. General McLean also had theories of his own for the military dispositions along the Maine coast; between the two, if appearances are to be trusted, another scheme was hatched for the favorable consideration of Mr. Knox. At least, in the spring of 1780, Nutting, "by the General's particular advice and recommendation, Embarked again for England,"¹ where he soon announced that he had "laid a Plan before the Right Honourable Lord George Germain which if put into Execution he is clear would be of the greatest Utility to Government."²

The details of that plan do not appear. We may have an echo of it in the insistence with which Germain the next winter urged upon Clinton the ministry's favorite scheme for the disposition of the throngs of Tories at New York: "Many . . . are desirous of being settled in the country about Penobscot . . . and, as it is proposed to settle that country, and this appears a cheap method of disposing of these loyalists, it is wished you would encourage them to go there under the protection of the Associated Refugees, and assure them that a civil government will follow them in due time; for I hope, in the course of the summer, the admiral and you will be able to spare a force sufficient to effect an establishment at Casco Bay, and reduce that country to the King's obedience."³ At all events the imminence of this projected attack on Portland was sufficient to cause some very earnest preparations to be made by the inhabitants there.⁴

It may have been only a coincidence, but soon after Nutting's arrival in London an astonishing impetus was given to the whole New Ireland scheme. Germain wrote to Knox, 7 August, 1780: "I hope *New Ireland* continues to employ your thoughts: the

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ Whitehall, 7 March, 1781 (intercepted). viii. J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, 521.

⁴ Campbell to Clinton, Ft. George, Penobscot, 15 March, 1781. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 258. Cf. ii. J. Williamson, History of Maine, 481, etc.

more I think of Oliver (Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay), for governor, the more I like him. . . . I wish we might prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet.”¹ A hint was enough for Knox, and with suspicious speed the plan was produced. Four days later a full-blown constitution for the new province was a reality,² and Germain wrote: “*The King approves of the plan . . . likes Oliver for Governor, so it may be offered him. He approves of Leonard for Chief Justice.*”³ Yet here a most provoking obstacle arose. Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, in a pet, according to the disgruntled Knox,⁴ at seeing his legal rival, Lord Thurlow, raised to the peerage before himself,⁵ refused to sanction the proposition, declaring that no new province could be interposed between two old ones whose charters gave them a coterminous boundary.

Whether Nutting had much or little to do with all this, he reached England unfortunately “at the time of the Riots in London,”⁶ was detained contrary to his expectation, and received a peremptory order from Lord Townsend to proceed immediately to Landguard Fort. His Lordship being pleased to declare that Your Memorialist could not be spared out of the Kingdom at that time.”⁷ Work at Landguard was then in full swing, as the English coast towns were not only threatened by the Dutch and Spanish fleets but still sweating from the fear of that boggy-man of the sea, John P. Jones.

Thus side-tracked among the East Anglian marshes, his finances being again very low, “having expended the whole of his pay, and

¹ W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers. ii. Appendix, 82.

² Discussed and compared in x. G. Bancroft, History of the United States, 368.

³ W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, ii. Appendix, 83.

⁴ Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 228.

⁵ This explanation seems a bit tenuous. The invidious promotion had been made over two years before, and Wedderburn was himself by this time safely within the charmed circle as Baron Loughborough. Still, there were doubtless wheels within wheels.

⁶ The Gordon Riots began 2 June, 1780.

⁷ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

being considerably more indebted than when he set out which he is wholly unable to pay although he has used the greatest Oeconomy, not being able to return a Compliment of asking a Friend to Dinner," Nutting composed a memorial¹ to the Treasury Board, asking for reimbursement for £394 worth of expenses incurred since leaving Landguard in 1778, "with such other gratuity, as your Lordships shall think fit." This he followed up by a straightforward letter² to Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, who it appears had made a "kind promis to speak to My Lord North" in his behalf. Herein he begs for "one hundred or even seventy pounds" which "would set me free from that anxieity of mind every honest man ought to have to pay his Just depts though incurred for the service of Government." He refers for his "carecure, & services," to "the Rt. Hon'bl Lord Germain, or Mr. Knox; to whom I have the honour to be well known." He was evidently determined that the family orthography should improve, for he adds a "P. P. (*sic*) the berer is my son who is at school in London, & shall wait on your honour when most convenient, for an answare."

That "answare" was long in coming. The frightfully overburdened treasury did not reach action on this appeal till a year and a half later. Then, after various wanderings in the official maze, it was returned to "Sir" Grey Cooper, the new Secretary of the Treasury, by the ever-friendly Knox, with the statement that "£300 is judged a proper compensation for Mr. Nutting's extraordinary expenses."³ This sum the Treasury would consent to pay only on *receiving back* the £150 already allowed Nutting as an American sufferer, "to be applied again to the payment of American sufferers."⁴

Ere this the ministry had changed and Nutting's old patrons were no longer in power. But he had already secured new ones — among them the Duke of Richmond, Master General of Ordnance. By that dignitary, soon after his exchequer had received the above addition,

¹ Endorsed: "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² Landguard Fort, 5 October, 1780. *Ibidem*.

³ Knox to Cooper, Whitehall, 14 March, 1782. *Ibidem*.

⁴ Endorsements on above memorial.

and "as soon as the disturbances subsided," he was appointed engineer,¹ and was once again ordered out to New York, taking John Junior with him, "to follow such Directions as he might receive from His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton."² His arrival is chronicled in a letter from Carleton to his Grace dated 17 November, 1782: "Mr. Nutting and his son, whom Your Grace mentioned to me, are arrived here. I shall immediately employ the father according to his wish at Penobscot (*sic*), and as soon as an opportunity offers, provide for the son who I have in the meantime directed shall serve under the Chief Engineer, who will take care of him."³ The commander-in-chief acted with a promptness that shows how much "influence" was behind the Cambridge man. A few days later his pecuniary cloud showed a further silver lining in the shape of a payment of another £100 "for services to Government";⁴ and on 1 December, young John was satisfactorily provided for, by an appointment as Second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery.⁵

Nutting's wish to be employed at Penobscot was quite understandable, but more serious matters were afoot, matters too in which he was specially qualified to assist. Carleton was facing the question of what to do with the loyalists. For years they had been concentrating on New York, which on their account was actually held by the British beyond the intended date of surrender.⁶ The humane general was doing all he could temporarily for the thousands of unfortunates, but the only possible solution of the problem of their final disposal was to send them to the province still loyal like them-

¹ So at least he says in his memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Probably a "practitioner engineer," a rank then just going out of use. Cf. i. W. Porter, *History of the Royal Engineers*, 202. The family tradition is that he was a captain in that corps, but his name is not found under that heading in the Army Lists and the title is probably confused with his son's. At all events, he seems to have soon quit the job. See *post*.

² Memorial above, Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ iii. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *American Manuscripts*, 226.

⁴ 22 November, 1782. *Idem*, 234.

⁵ Army Lists. He at first appears as James Nutting, by an obvious error. 24 March, 1791, he was promoted First Lieutenant, and 1 October, 1795, "Captain Lieutenant and Captain." He apparently sold out in 1797.

⁶ iii. R. Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 439.

selves to the king.¹ The movement to deport them to Nova Scotia began in the autumn of 1782. It soon reached proportions really alarming: during the ensuing twelvemonth nearly 30,000 souls were estimated to have arrived at Halifax, Annapolis, Port Roseway, St. John's, etc.² The first requisite for these poor exiles was shelter. "They have applied to me," wrote Governor Parr, "to be provided with a Sufficiency of Boards for Erecting small houses to put them under Shelter after their arrival, as such a Provision is indispensably necessary & out of their power to make."³ In his next letter he speaks of the great want of working people. This scarcity of boards⁴ and building material is mentioned in almost every one of Parr's letters home during 1783. "Another very Considerable Article of Expence My Lord will be the Lumber purchased from the Unavoidable Necessity of Providing these people with some Kind of Shelter & Habitation; for although they might in some Degree have provided themselves with Materials from the Woods yet without some Allowance of Boards their Dwellings would be Wretched & Miserable, I cannot Ascertain the Expence already incurr'd on this Account, but from what is Known it amounts to about £3500."⁵

Here, in short, was the same old field ripe again for John Nutting's best-known talents, and he very soon found himself ordered to report at Halifax once more.⁶ The conditions were curiously like those he had faced in 1776. There was the same uncertainty

¹ Little could these poor refugees foresee that by their very exile they were to perform a still incalculable service to their sovereign and his successors. It is now reckoned that nothing but the vast increase they gave to the population and prestige of Nova Scotia induced the ministry to consider retaining that despised remnant of the American possessions, — yet the nucleus of the present Dominion of Canada! E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution." x. American Historical Review, 71.

² Parr to North, Halifax, 20 November, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

³ Parr to Townshend, Halifax, 15 January, 1783. *Ibid.*

⁴ Some of the loyalists before leaving for Halifax "even tore down their houses to take the material to the wilderness for new homes." A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, 188.

⁵ Parr to North, Halifax, 21 October, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

⁶ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

and confusion, the same lack of supplies, the same wintry distress for the same class of true-hearted, tenderly-nurtured refugees, many of them fresh from the warm southern colonies. "It is a most unlucky Season for these unfortunate people to come to this Climate," remarks Parr in November. And a little later, "I cannot better describe the Wretched Situation of those people, than by inclosing your Lordship a list of those Just arrived in the Clinton Transport, destitute of almost everything: Chiefly Women & Children all still on board, as I have not yet been Able to find any Sort of place for them & the Cold Setting in Severe."¹

We must therefore again picture the master carpenter struggling to procure workmen and materials for the "indispensable" little huts into which the poor refugees were only too thankful to crowd themselves. Much of his work must have been of a supervisory and instructive sort — helping the new settlers to help themselves, explaining the mysteries of saw and hammer to the former aristocrats of New York and Philadelphia, illustrating the theory of framing to the mob-harried ex-officials, broken professional men, and ruined merchant princes of that dolorous company. For there was now one great difference from the conditions of seven years before. This time nothing lay beyond. Halifax was not a mere point of transshipment, but a terminus; it was all too certain that there would and could be no return; the new arrivals were to become permanent settlers to live and die in the Nova Scotia wilderness.

For this reason the allotment of regular lands to the loyalists was another necessity, and a considerable force of surveyors pushed out into the forests and barrens of the back country, followed as fast as possible by the wretched army of grantees. Nutting must have made many a journey to the new settlements to assist in the house-building problems there. When it came to his own allotment the persuasive Yankee land-speculator drove his usual good bargain. Whether from the representations of his influential patrons at home, or from his own importance in the community, he²

¹ Parr to North, Halifax, 15 January, 1784, 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

² Warrant dated 7 September, 1783. 14 Crown Grants, 3. Crown Grants Office, Halifax. The exact location, close to the 1000 acres of "Commissary Roger Johnston," is shown on an ancient traced map in the office, marked "Avon River to Tinney Cape." It was a long narrow strip running back from the water, to give the advantages of both upland and foreshore.

received a large tract, 2,000 acres,¹ of the rich soil on the southern shore of the beautiful Basin of Minas, near the present town of Newport, and conveniently close to Halifax itself, the provincial metropolis, "yielding & paying to His Majesty . . . a free yearly quit rent of one farthing per Acre."

He did not at once remove to this domain, however, still being busy with his government work. About this time, according to family traditions,² he was constructing at Halifax the "Old Chain Battery" near the entrance of the Northwest Arm of the harbor. This, with the chain-boom which it commanded, stretching across the entrance to the Arm, was designed to protect the city from attack in the rear. Perhaps it was during the progress of the work that his daughter Mercy (named for her paternal grandmother) was born on George's Island in the harbor, 3 July, 1785.³

These multifarious occupations, nevertheless, presented nothing either novel or exciting, and he had already begun to grow restive under his "daily and constant attendance on duty," and to make efforts towards bettering his official, or at least his financial position. To that end he had addressed Carleton in quaint yet illuminating phrases: "Penetrated with the most indelible Caractures for the past favours — I humbly beg that I may be pardoned for this intrusion also. . . . The Commander in Chief is not unacquainted with my expectations, in coming out to America with him nor likewise with my disagreeable and unstable situation at this place . . . for a Virtuous and affectionate Wife, and four amible Chlldren,⁴ who are entirely dependant on me for their subsistance, that have always had a sufficiency if not affulgence till this time. . . . I have spent upwards of eight years, the prime of my Life to support Government I have served faithfully spilt my blood, and at this moment feel the pain of my wounds which I received four years since, all which I have losst, and endured for the support of the

¹ The usual grant was 200 acres to a single man, 500 to a family, 1000 to a field officer in a loyalist regiment, etc. A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, 190.

² W. F. Parker, *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12.

³ Nutting Papers. She died young.

⁴ Elizabeth, James, and Susanna must therefore all have died during the wanderings and exposures of the war, leaving John, Mary No. 2, Mercy (who died the next year), and little Sophia Elizabeth.

Government of Great Britain. I humbly pray that the General in his great humanity penetration and goodness, would be pleased to take my Case into his consideration and appoint me survayor of Lumber for his Majesty's works in this province at 5/- per Day which is the same I had at Penobscott, in addition to my pay as overseer . . . in lieu of being Engineer or any thing in my expectations precedent, and indeed will prevent my being under the necessity of troubling my Friends in England, or your Excellency any further on Government account."¹ Evidently the friends in England were not to be disregarded, for in due course came the desired appointment,² and "with a Salary of 10/- per Diem."³

As a respectable official and a considerable landowner in Nova Scotia, John Nutting would now have had little to worry him, had not the fate of his Penobscot property been wavering in the balance. The peace commissioners were at loggerheads over the eastern boundary between the American and the British possessions. Should it be the Penobscot River or the St. Croix? Long and stubborn was the controversy, but we may almost fancy poor Nutting's bad luck in real estate as tipping the scale at last. Early in January,⁴ 1784, the barracks and store-houses that had cost him so much labor were emptied and fired, and the King's troops "reluctantly" — most reluctantly — abandoned Penobscot Fort, the last

¹ Nutting to Carleton, Halifax, 10 May, 1783. iv. Papers in the Royal Institution, 411. (New York Public Library Transcripts.) *Précis* in iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 76.

² "from Colonel Morse of the Engineers . . . dated 23^d December 1783." xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 299. Public Library, New York City.

³ xxviii. *Idem*, 198.

⁴ In spite of its romantic interest, the exact date seems still unknown. J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, 398 *et seq.* Carleton had ordered evacuation, with "no delay," more than three months before, and so notified Hancock. iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 378, 391. But like a spoiled child, Massachusetts, once her object was within her grasp, almost refused to take it. Local tradition asserts that the importance of the place induced the ministry to send orders to delay the evacuation till the American government had complied with the various articles of the treaty, but that these orders did not arrive till after the garrison had set sail, and nearly reached Halifax. W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii. Bangor Historical Magazine, 51.

post they held on American soil, and New Ireland became one more province in the realm of might-have-been. According to Mr. Secretary Knox,¹ the place never would have been evacuated at all, but would have remained to mark the seaward end of the British boundary-line, had not the jealousy of Wedderburne and the ignorance of Shelburne allowed it slip out of their hands and fixed the American terminus at Eastport instead.² Luckily for Massachusetts she had John Adams on the board of treaty commissioners, and his insistent diplomacy achieved what five warlike attempts had failed in.

The statesman mourned for a province *in posse*: the carpenter mourned for good acres *in esse*. His Cambridge property was already hopelessly lost, and it needs but a modicum of imagination to picture his chagrin at beholding his cherished farm on the Bagaduce, his recently-acquired homestead by the fort, his cleared lands and his mill privileges, after all his schemes to secure them, slip thus from his grasp forever. No recourse remained but to put in vigorous claims for compensation before the commissioners appointed to investigate and reward the services and sufferings of the loyalists. As usual, he lost little time, and on 15 January, 1784, made oath at Halifax to a moving memorial, accompanied by sundry affidavits and schedules regarding his property lost at Cambridge and Penobscot.³ This he entrusted to Samuel Sparhawk to present for him in London, "as it was not in the power of Mr. Nutting personally to attend your Hon'ble Board within the time limited for receiving the claims."⁴ Consideration of this was apparently deferred till the next year, when the Commissioners visited Halifax to hear claimants on the spot. The indefatigable Nutting thereupon presented another memorial,⁵ backing it up with various

¹ Knox to Cooke. Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

² Most of the loyalists who were forced out of Penobscot removed to St. Andrews, opposite Eastport, thus continuing the border-line existence which they had already elected.

³ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ Memorial of Sam'l Sparhawk "in behalf of John Nutting, March 25 1784. Bedford Court, R'd Lyon Square." *Ibid*.

⁵ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Duplicated in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 289. Public Library, New York City.

documentary proofs and the personal testimony both of himself and of sundry other witnesses, including young Lieutenant John. The hearing¹ was on 29 December, 1785, and the decision² was made the same day. The Commissioners, apparently in view of the various payments already made to him by government, confined themselves to a consideration of his property losses. The Cambridge claims were disallowed, the house "appearing to have been mortgaged to some of his Wife's Family & to be now in their possession." So was the claim for the "House built at Penobscot after that Post was occupied by the British Troops." So was the claim for "Furniture Lumber & Cattle lost at different places — there being no proof of Loss." In short, only £200 were awarded, for "500 Acres on Penobscot River with Houses Improvements and $\frac{1}{3}$ ^d of a Saw Mill." Even that was "only conditional. Proof of Confiscation and Sale is required." This was subsequently furnished; and after solemn affidavits from various members of the Walton family as to the Cambridge property,³ the claimant was "allowed on revision" an additional £100 for that, "after deducting mortgage."⁴

Unable therefore to capitalize his loyalty to any great extent, John Nutting seems to have settled down into a steady-going farmer of Newport, N. S. He probably carried out to the letter the various conditions on which all the crown grants had been made; — "within three years from date hereof to clear and work three acres of or for every fifty acres in the tract hereby granted . . . or clear and drain three acres of swampy or sunken ground, or drain three acres of marsh, . . . or put or keep on his said lands three Neat Cattle" or "to erect on some part of his said Lands One dwelling house to Contain twenty feet in length by sixteen feet in

¹ Fully reported in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 297 *et seq.* Public Library, New York City. The witnesses besides Nutting *père et fils*, were Samuel Pool and Nathaniel Bust [*? Rust*], formerly of Cambridge, and Josiah Henny, of Penobscot. For the latter cf. G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, 201.

² xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City.

³ Affidavits of John Walton of Cambridge and Benjamin Walton of Reading, 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ 12 December, 1788. xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City. A revision after such an interval certainly suggests considerable powers of "pull" or persuasion.

breadth." He was a man of importance in the community, too, for his influence is unmistakable in the naming of the next town to Newport, perpetuating his wife's family name of Walton. His last child, a son of his old age, was born 12 September, 1787, and named from his two grandfathers James Walton.¹

So passed the afternoon of life. But was that active and ingenious spirit content in the improvement of a back-country farm and the routine duties of a surveyor of lumber? He had taken responsible part in many a stirring scene, in militia musters, in famous sieges, in English fort and Spanish prison, in concentration camps, in councils of the state, in fateful despatch-bearing. He had been faithful to his king, even unto banishment and double confiscation. Did he not long to play the man again? When his old wounds burned and stung in the foggy autumn nights, did not his thoughts turn back to his early frontier campaigns, to his "fall trainings" in Cambridge, to his expedition with Colonel Small, to his fight with the privateer? When the surf from Blomidon boomed on his beach, did he not hear again in fancy the guns of the *Vengeance*, or the 24's of Collier at Castine, or the cannonade from Copp's Hill? Did he not sometimes yearn as he passed among the farmer folk for his old neighbors in cultured and beautiful Cambridge, or his polished friends and patrons in glittering London? If we read the man aright, there can be but one answer.

We know, moreover, that to the end his old land-hunger and *wanderlust* were strong upon him, for he was constantly buying, selling, and mortgaging lots,² extending his operations as far as Cape Breton and its neighborhood. But his financial ill-luck, like the villain of the melodrama, still pursued him. When he died, intestate, late in 1800, although he was described as "gentleman," and as possessing "two lots of 500 acres each in Newport, being part of lands commonly called Mantular Lands" and "a 200 acre lot of Land in the County of Sidney No. 9, and a Town Lot in Man-

¹ Married Mary Elizabeth MacLean, 10 July, 1813, and had six children. Died 7 July, 1870, at Halifax. Nutting Papers. Stone in Camp Hill Cemetery there. He rose to eminence in the law, was clerk of the crown in the supreme court of the province, and at his death was senior member of the Nova Scotia Bar. He had a 500-acre grant in Newport, close to his father's.

² His numerous local deals may be traced in Windsor (Nova Scotia) Deeds, *passim*.

chester, No. 3 Letter M," — yet his estate was found insolvent, and a general sale was made of his property. The inventory included "7 cows, 1 yoke of oxen, 2 yoke of steers, 2 Heighfords," and other livestock, "1 boat," a reminder of his seafaring days, and a curious list of his tools: "3 axes, 1 Handsaw, 1 Crosscut saw, 1 Two feet rule, 2 augers, 2 chissels, 1 foot adds, 1 Tray adds, 2 grindstones, 1 Crow Barr, 1 Jack Plain, 1 Iron square, 1 draw knife, 3 files, 1 pinchers, 1 Do. Hammer." Only the merest necessities of life were exempted and "left in the Hands of the Wido Mary Nutting & her children."¹

While his relict thus suffered the penalty of his characteristic pecuniary misfortunes, she luckily reaped the benefit of his equally characteristic friendships with the great and influential. The Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, then just quitting the post of commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, "in consideration of her husband's services to the Crown, and his heavy losses at Cambridge by confiscation, . . . procured for the widow a special pension from the Crown."² Upon this subsidy, aided perhaps by her children's contributions, she managed to eke out an existence, possibly precarious but certainly protracted. She died about 1831, at "Loyal Hill."³

Such is the history, so far as gathered, of a Cambridge man born and bred, interesting not only for his all too uncommon type of personality among his loyalist neighbors, but for the curious speculations arising from his share in the historical events in which he played a part. If, for example, the strategists of Great Britain, uninfluenced by his solicitude for his eligible farm, had established the post in Maine at some other point than Penobscot — a point on which the attack of the Provincials might have been successful, — if the only organized naval force of the colonies, instead of disappearing utterly, had returned, encouraged by victory, to take, under the masterly strategy of Washington, a definite and coordinated part in the current and subsequent campaigns of the Revolution, — who can say how much the struggle would have been

¹ Hants Probate Records at Windsor, Nova Scotia. His son-in-law, Daniel McNeil, was appointed administrator, 21 November, 1800.

² W. F. Parker. *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12.

³ Nutting Papers.

altered and shortened? What would have been the effect on the story of American privateering? Again, if that post had been to the eastward of Penobscot, even had the result of the expedition been the same as it was, where might the Canadian boundary now be fixed? What chances for an actual New Ireland of to-day?

And the Muse of History (doubtless a polyglot dame) smiles inscrutably and replies, *Quien sabe?*

At the conclusion of Mr. Batchelder's paper the meeting was dissolved.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 27, 1909 — October 25, 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
AMERICAN-IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. IX, 1910
BARNEY, EVERETT HOSMER	Commodore Joshua Barney, U. S. N., 1759-1818, by W. F. Adams
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL	Address delivered before the Alumni of Harvard College, July 16, 1863, by James Walker
	At Home and Abroad, by Margaret Fuller Ossoli
	Atlas of the City of Cambridge, by G. M. Hopkins
	Cambridge Directory, 1848
	Cambridge in the "Centennial," issued by the City Council of Cambridge
	Cambridge of 1896, ed. by Arthur Gilman
	Can a State Secede? By Emory Washburn
	Discourse occasioned by the Death of Jared Sparks, by William Newell
	English Words and their Proper Use, by Lyman R. Williston
	Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, by Edward Everett
	Geological Sketches, by Louis Agassiz. 2d series
	Harvard Book, collected and published by F. O. Vaille and H. A. Clark. 2 v.

*Donor**Description*

Harvard Memorial Biographies, by
Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
2 v.

Henry W. Longfellow, by W. S.
Kennedy

History of Greece, by William
Smith, with Notes and a Contin-
uation to the present time, by
C. C. Felton

Journey in Brazil, by Professor and
Mrs. Louis Agassiz

Laws of Business for Business Men,
by Theophilus Parsons

Life of Josiah Quincy, by his Son
Notice sent to Marshall T. Bigelow
of his Election as Honorary
Member of the 12th Unattached
Co., M. V. M., Cambridge
Walcott Guard, January 1,
1866

Novum Testamentum Graece, ex
Recensione J. J. Griesbachii,
Cantabrigiae Nov. Anglorum,
1809

On the Measure of the Forces of
Bodies moving with Different
Velocities, by Daniel Treadwell

Recollections of Seventy Years, by
Mrs. John Farrar

Report on the Connection at vari-
ous times existing between the
First Parish in Cambridge and
Harvard College

Theory of the Universe, by Samuel
Hutchins

Tiles from the Todd House on Site
of St. John's Chapel

To the Free Soil Members of the
General Court of Massachusetts
for the year 1851, by J. G.
Palfrey

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
	Treatise on English Punctuation, by John Wilson
CAMBRIDGE PUBLIC LIBRARY . . .	Annual Report of the Trustees, 1880, 1882, 1887, 1889, 1892- 1910. 22 nos.
	Cambridge Public Library: its History, etc., comp. by C. Walker.
	History of the Cambridge Public Library, 1858-1908, comp. by W. J. Rolfe and C. W. Ayer.
CARY, EMMA FORBES	Genealogical and Personal Memoirs relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts, ed. by W. R. Cutter. 4 v.
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Annual Report, May, 1910
DANA, RICHARD HENRY, 3D . .	Boston Daily Advertiser, April 29, 1850, July 3, 1850, April 29, 1851
DELAWARE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Marking the Headquarters of Wash- ington and Lafayette, at Chadd's Ford, Delaware County, Pa., September 10, 1910
GOZZALDI, MRS. MARY ISABELLA	Certificate of Membership in the Francis Scott Key Memorial Association
HARRIS, ELIZABETH	Journal of American History, 1907- 1909. 3 v.
HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH	Album containing twenty-five Harvard Photographs of the Last Generation
HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS	First Generation of the Name of Hildreth in Massachusetts, 1643- 1693, comp. by P. H. Reade
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LI- BRARY	Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1909
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SO- CIETY	Journal, Vol. II, No. 3-Vol. III, No. 3, Oct. 1909-Oct. 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Papers read, Vol. XIII, No. 8-XIV, No. 6, Oct. 12, 1909-June 8, 1910
LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE	Classical and Scientific Studies and the Great Schools of England, by W. P. Atkinson Dynamic and Mechanic Teaching, by W. P. Atkinson Horse-shoe: a Poem, by John Brooks Felton Prémices, by E. Foxton, pseud. for Sara Hammond Palfrey Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College, 1655-1791, tr. by E. J. Young
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, Vol. XLII, Oct. 1908-June, 1909
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Snake Devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XI
MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historical Register, Vol. XIII, 1910
MIDDLESEX COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Pamphlet, No. VIII, May, 1910
MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.	Collections, Vols. XII-XIII, 1908
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY	New England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1910 (with Supplement)-July, 1910
NORTON, MARGARET	Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature, 1833-34
OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Quarterly, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, 1910
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historia, Vol. I, No. 4, June 15 1910
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 2-Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1909-June, 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY (NEW YORK)	Year Book, 1910
POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION	History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Vols. I and IV, 1870-1879, and 1899-1904
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, 1906-1908. 2 nos.
SAUNDERS, MARY ELIZABETH. . .	Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statue of John Bridge, the Puritan, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, by David Pulsifer
	Address of the Mayor of Cambridge, with the Annual Reports, 1846-1888, 1901-1904. 38 v.
	Exercises in Celebrating the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of Cambridge, held Dec. 28, 1880, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Funeral Discourse . . . on the Occasion of the Burial of G. T. and J. H. Tucker, by C. W. Anable
	Invitation to be present at the Memorial Services of General Grant, held Aug. 8, 1885, issued by the Mayor of Cambridge
	Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin, issued by the Boston City Council
	Memorial to the Men of Cambridge who fell in the First Battle of the Revolutionary War, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1862, before the Municipal Authorities of Boston, by G. T. Curtis

*Donor**Description*

	Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-1865. 2 v.
	Remarks at the Funeral of Hon. W. Eustis Russell, by Rev. Alexander McKenzie
	Report of the Trial of Prof. John W. Webster
	Roll of Students of Harvard College who have served in the Army and Navy during the War of the Rebellion, by F. J. Child
	Thanksgiving Proclamation of the President, containing also the Proclamation of Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts
SHELDON, MRS. GEORGE	Tribute to C. Alice Baker, by J. M. A. Sheldon
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Virginia Magazine, Vol. XVIII, 1910
WISCONSIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY	Wisconsin Archaeologist, Vol. VIII. No. 3, Oct. 1909

NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches, of which most of the following are abstracts, are kept on file in the Society's collection.

REGULAR MEMBERS

AMES, JAMES BARR, was born in Boston, Mass., June 22, 1846. He was a pupil in the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard College in 1863. He graduated in 1868, receiving the degree of A.B. After two years spent in travel and teaching he entered the Harvard Law School, where he graduated in 1872. He stayed in the school for a graduate year, and at the same time taught two courses in history in the college. At the end of this year he received the master's degree and was appointed assistant professor of law. On June 25, 1877, he was appointed to a full professorship of law. In 1895 he succeeded Professor Langdell as dean of the Faculty, and in 1903 he became Dane Professor of Law. For thirty-six years he taught in the Harvard Law School, beloved and respected by all who knew him. He was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of New York and the University of Wisconsin in 1898, by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899, by Northwestern University in 1903, by Williams College and Harvard in 1904. In his younger days he was an enthusiastic amateur actor, and was for years the presiding officer of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. For ten years he was president of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Club. For several years he was president of the Colonial Club in Cambridge. Mr. Ames married, June 29, 1880, Miss Sarah Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, of Boston. Two sons were born to them, Robert Russell (Harvard, 1907) and Richard (Harvard, 1907). Mr. Ames died January 8, 1910.

EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER, was born in Boston, February 18, 1850, the son of Benjamin Franklin and Catherine Rayner Edmands. He was educated in the schools of his native city and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1869, with the degree of Mechanical Engineer. For a number of years he was connected with the U. S. Coast Survey, and from 1883 to 1910 he was an assistant in the Harvard Astronomical Observatory, chiefly as librarian but not in continuous

service. Possessed of ample means and leisure, and fond of mountain climbing, Mr. Edmands became one of the original members of the Appalachian Mountain Club, showing great interest in its early topographical work in the White Mountains. In building paths up the high ridges he spent much time, energy, and money, and in this way he has prepared his own memorial, the name of "the Edmands trails" being given to the system of carefully constructed paths upon the northern peaks of the Presidential Range. As aids in this work for himself and for others, he showed inventive genius in constructing a special camera for obtaining panoramic profiles, and a portable form of heliotrope for transmitting sun-signals across the mountains, as well as a convenient pack-saddle for pedestrians. His work and his ability received full recognition in his appointment to many offices of the Appalachian Mountain Club, among which he served as Trustee of Real Estate from its organization in 1876 to his death, Corresponding Secretary in 1881, Vice-President in 1885, and President in 1886. His mountain service assumed a wider importance in helping to secure three reservations at North Woodstock, Shelburne, and Fitzwilliam. On October 26, 1885, Mr. Edmands married Helen Louise Atkins, of Belmont, whose sudden death within three years left him long a widower. His own death followed a stroke of apoplexy, at the Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore, on March 27, 1910, while he was on his way back from a trip to Florida for the benefit of his health. His will contained several public bequests, among them being \$10,000 to the Institute of Technology; his estate at 61 Garden Street to Radcliffe College; and \$1000 each to the Appalachian Mountain Club for the purchase of land in the public interest, to Harvard University for the use of the Phillips Library at the Observatory, and to the East End Christian Union.

ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES, was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 10, 1827, and died at Tisbury, Mass., July 7, 1910. He was the son of John and Lydia Davis (Moulton) Rolfe. He passed most of his boyhood at Lowell; graduated at Amherst College in 1849; taught in Kirkwood Academy, Maryland, and at Day's Academy, Wrentham, till December, 1852, when he became headmaster of the Dorchester High School; later was principal of high schools at Lawrence, Salem, and Cambridge (1862-1868) until 1868, when he devoted himself wholly to literary work. Among his important editions are Shakespeare, in 40 volumes; "Students' Series of Standard English Poems," 10 volumes; Tennyson, 12 volumes; "Cambridge Course of Physics," 8 volumes; and selections from Goldsmith, Gray, Wordsworth, Browning, and other

poets. He also compiled several volumes of tales, and wrote three books on Shakespeare. From 1872 to 1910 he edited "The Satchel Guide to Europe." In 1908 he prepared, in collaboration with the librarian, Clarence W. Ayer, a "History of the Cambridge Public Library," in connection with the celebration, April 1, 1908, of the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. He was president of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, 1904-1908. Harvard conferred on him an honorary A.M. in 1859, and Amherst made him a Litt. D. in 1887. On July 30, 1856, he married Eliza Jane Carew, of Dorchester. Their three sons are Prof. John Carew (Harvard, 1881); George William (Harvard, 1885); and Charles Joseph (Harvard, 1890).

SMITH, MRS. EMMA GRISCOM, born in New York City, July 16, 1845, was daughter of Dr. John Hoskins and Henrietta (Peale) Griscom, granddaughter of Rembrandt Peale, the artist, who was a son of Charles Wilson Peale, artist and aide-de-camp to General Washington. Mrs. Smith was educated at the Twelfth Street School in New York, the first public school in that city to receive girls exclusively, also at a private school. In 1865 she accompanied her father on a trip to Europe. She married, August 25, 1870, Clement Lawrence Smith (Harvard, 1863), son of Dr. George Smith, physician, legislator, and historian, who had been appointed tutor in Latin at Harvard College. For five years they made their home in Mason Street, where a daughter and two sons were born; another son was born at 65 Sparks Street, where they passed the remainder of their lives. Professor Smith became Dean of the Harvard College Faculty in 1882. In 1887 he took his first sabbatical year, which he spent with his family in Germany. Mrs. Smith remained another year in Europe for the benefit of the instruction of the children. Ten years later she was again abroad with her husband, who had been appointed head of the School of Classical Languages in Rome. The last years of her life were devoted to the care of her husband, who became a helpless invalid. He died July 1, 1909, and she followed on April 8, 1910.

SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE, was born in Boston, July 21, 1854, son of Daniel Robinson and Sophia Augusta (Foye) Sortwell. He was educated in the Chauncy Hall School and at Phillips (Andover) Academy. At the age of eighteen he was a partner in the firm of Sortwell & Co., and until he retired in 1891 had full charge of the business in East Cambridge established by his father. He was a member of the Common Council of Cambridge in 1879, 1885, and 1888, serving the last year as

its president. He was elected to the Board of Aldermen in 1889 and was president of that body in 1890. In 1897 he was elected Mayor of Cambridge and served for two terms. From 1888 to 1894 he was a trustee of the Public Library. He was a member of the Water Board and its president from 1907 until his death. He was president of the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad, vice-president of the Barre Railroad, president of the Cambridge Trust Company, and a director of several corporations. He was a member of the Algonquin Club, the Country Club of Brookline, the Eastern Yacht Club, the Oakley Country Club, the Colonial Club of Cambridge, and the Cambridge Club. He married, December 31, 1879, Gertrude Winship, daughter of William and Mary E. Dailey of Cambridge. Their six children, Clara, Frances Augusta, Daniel Richard (Harvard, 1907-8), Marion, Edward Carter, and Alvin Foye, survive him. Mr. Sortwell died March 21, 1910.

SWAN, MRS. SARAH HODGES, was born March 21, 1825, at Bridgewater, where her father, Rev. Richard Manning Hodges (Harvard, 1815), was minister of the First Congregational Church, 1821-1833. Her mother was Elizabeth Quincy Donnison, daughter of William Donnison, Judge of Common Pleas, Adjutant General, and aide to Governor Hancock. Mr. Hodges lived three years in Boston after leaving Bridgewater, and in 1836 came to Cambridge, buying the house on the corner of Waterhouse and Garden streets, facing the Common, where he lived until his death in 1878. Mrs. Swan attended, until 1839, the school kept by Miss Austin and later by Miss Mary Hodge in the old Hooker House, which stood in the College Yard, where Boylston Hall now stands. For two seasons she was present at the conversations of Margaret Fuller and later took private lessons from her. She was married, April 16, 1851, to Rev. Joshua Swan (Harvard, 1846), and went to live in Kennebunk, Maine, where Mr. Swan was ordained minister of the First Congregational Church. He remained there until 1869, when he was obliged to resign, owing to failing health, and removed to 6 Berkeley St., Cambridge, where he died October 31, 1871. Four children, one son and three daughters, were born in Kennebunk, all still living. Mrs. Swan was a charter member of the Cambridge Historical Society and made some valuable donations to its library. She was much interested in collecting and arranging the records of her family, and wrote a valuable account of her mother's old home in Boston, at the corner of Washington and Winter streets. The Cambridge Hospital and Home for Aged People owed much to her, and she was active in all the work of the First Church (Uni-

tarian). She was largely influential in having the cars taken from Brattle Street and the Lowell Park laid out. She died at her home, 167 Brattle Street, October 17, 1910.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER, scientist, mining company president, and philanthropist, the distinguished son of distinguished parentage, his father being Louis Agassiz and his mother Cécile Braun, was born in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, December 17, 1835. On the death of his mother, in 1849, the son came to Cambridge, to join his father, who had the year before accepted a position to teach in the new Lawrence Scientific School. Two years later he entered Harvard and graduated in the class of 1855. Two periods of study at the Lawrence Scientific School during the next six years, with the degree of S. B. in 1857, completed his solid equipment for undertaking numerous expeditions to all parts of the world for scientific research in the large field of invertebrate zoölogy and oceanography. From these expeditions he returned with countless specimens for the growing collections in the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, which his father had founded, upon which he expended, from time to time in its development, not less than one million dollars, and through which and through his published writings thereupon was established his fame as the world's greatest authority on his special subjects of sea-urchins, star-fishes, coral reefs, and the ocean floor. From the death of his father, in 1873, he became Curator of the new Museum, and under three successive titles was its virtual head until his own desired withdrawal in 1904. In other ways also he served the University, by gifts of money to other departments, and by two terms of office each, between 1873 and 1890, as a member of the Board of Overseers, and as a Fellow of the Corporation. From 1865 on, this scientific career was combined with another entirely different and equally successful, as mining expert and president of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. His technical knowledge and administrative ability in developing what has proved to be the richest copper mine in the world brought him great wealth, and gave him the means with which to carry on his scientific researches and to equip and endow the Museum. More than any other he may be considered the typical representative in America of the scholar in business. The number and variety of honors bestowed upon him by learned societies and universities, from the "Prix Serres" of the Académie des Sciences de Paris in 1873, to the Victoria research

medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1909, were all spontaneous recognitions of his great service to natural science. He married, on November 15, 1860, Anna Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, who died in 1873, leaving three sons to his care and that of his devoted step-mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. His life-long home was at the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway; his summer home, and also his private laboratory, were at Newport, R. I. He died suddenly, at sea, on March 27, 1910, while on his return home from the Mediterranean. Among his published works, numbering 248 titles and consisting chiefly of reports and monographs on special topics, prepared for the Bulletin and Memoirs of the Museum, the following are the best known separate books: "Seaside Studies in Natural History," 1865 (with text by Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz); and the "Three Cruises of the *Blake*," 2 vols., 1888.

GILMAN, ARTHUR, born at Alton, Ill., June 22, 1837, was the son of Winthrop Sargent and Abia Swift (Lippincott) Gilman. He was eighth in descent from Edward Gilman, of Caston, Norfolk, England, who came to Hingham, Mass., in 1638, and in the seventh generation from Hon. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H., member of the Council of the Royal Province of New Hampshire. Through his father's mother, Hannah Robbins, he was descended in the eighth generation from Richard Robbins, who came to Charlestown in 1639, and settled in Cambridge before 1643. Mr. Gilman was the second child in a family of thirteen, and eldest of the nine brothers and sisters who reached maturity. Until he was twelve years old he lived in Alton, and St. Louis, Mo.; then the family removed to New York City. He spent many summers in the Berkshire Hills, and after his marriage, April 12, 1860, to Amy Cooke Ball, daughter of Samuel and Experience Ball, of Lee, Mass., he made his home near Lenox, where a son and three daughters were born. He served on the local school committee and interested himself in education, lecturing at many schools and colleges on that subject. In 1870 he became associated with Houghton, Mifflin & Co., in the publications of the Riverside Press, and removed to Cambridge, where he continued to live until a short time before his death, when ill health obliged him to seek a milder climate. During this time Mr. Gilman wrote many books on history and English literature. He edited the Gilman Genealogy, "Cambridge in 1776," and "Cambridge Forty Years a City." On July 11, 1876, Mr. Gilman married for his second wife Stella Scott, daughter of David and Stella (Houghton) Scott, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who aided him in his educational and literary work. By this second marriage he had two

daughters and a son. He built the house at the east corner of Waterhouse Street and Concord Avenue, which was thenceforth his home. His interest in education led him to plan for the teaching of young women by the Harvard professors. President Eliot and the Faculty approving, the Society for Collegiate Instruction for Women was formed and incorporated in 1882, Mr. Gilman being secretary, executive officer, and director. In 1894 this body became Radcliffe College, with Mr. Gilman as first Regent. In 1896, two years later, he resigned this position, but remained a member of the Corporation. In 1886 he founded the Cambridge School for Girls, since called the Gilman School. He received the degree of M.A. from Williams College in 1867, and from Harvard in 1904; was elected an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, and was for many years on the Board of Visitors of Wellesley College. Arthur Gilman was a valued member of many societies. He was founder and secretary of the Longfellow Memorial Association, and of the Lowell Memorial Society, a charter member of the American Historical Association, Cambridge Historical Society, Authors' Club, Episcopalian, St. Botolph and Colonial clubs, and of the New England Agricultural Society. He was many years secretary of the Humane Society and of the Episcopal Theological School, where he was also on the Board of Visitors. A constant attendant at St. John's Memorial Chapel, he was always ready to lend his aid to philanthropic work. On leaving Cambridge a few years ago he resigned as an active member, and became an associate member of the Cambridge Historical Society. He died at Atlantic City, N. J., December 27, 1909.

NILES, WILLIAM HARMON, was born, May 18, 1838, at Northampton, Mass. His parents were the Rev. Asa Niles and Mary A. (Marcy) Niles. His early education was received in the public schools of WORTHINGTON and at Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham. He was for four years a student of Prof. Louis Agassiz. He then went to the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven, and received the degree of Ph. B. in 1867. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., in 1870. In 1871 he was appointed professor of physical geography in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and in 1878 became professor of geology and geography. In 1879 he became professor of geology at Boston University. In 1888 he was appointed professor in charge of the department of geology at Wellesley College. These three professorships he held for many years. He was president of the Boston Society of Natural History, of the New England Meteor-

ological Society, and a trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archæology. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Geological Society of America, and a member of the National Geographical Society and of the Society of American Naturalists. He was the author of many scientific books. He married, December 31, 1868, Miss Helen M. Plympton, youngest daughter of Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, of Cambridge. He died in Boston, September 13, 1910.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1910-1911

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, EDWARD HENRY HALL,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
RICHARD HENRY DANA, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1910-1911

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,
EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

On Publication.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,
MARY HELEN DEANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY	BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN
ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA	BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREE-
ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS	MAN
ALLEN, MARY WARE	CARRUTH, ANNA KENT
ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE	CARRUTH, CHARLES THEO-
ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE	DORE
ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE	CARY, EMMA FORBES
*AMES, JAMES BARR	CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
AUBIN, HELEN WARNER	COES, MARY
AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS	COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
AYER, CLARENCE WALTER	COOK, FRANK GAYLORD
BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL	CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
BAILEY, MARY PERSIS	COX, GEORGE HOWLAND
BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS	CROTHERS, SAMUEL McCHORD
BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT	CUTTER, WATSON GRANT
BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER	DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBER-
BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR	FORCE
BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS	DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY	DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
BELL, STOUGHTON	DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL	LONGFELLOW
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON	DANA, RICHARD HENRY
BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA	DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND
BLAKE, JAMES HENRY	DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
BLISH, ARIADNE	DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL	DEANE, MARY HELEN
BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH	DEANE, WALTER
BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES	DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHING-	DREW, EDWARD BANGS
HAM	DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON
BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN	DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD
BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE	DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE
BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS	

* Deceased.

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
 EDES, HENRY HERBERT
 *EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER
 ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
 ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
 ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
 ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
 EMERTON, EPHRAIM
 EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
 FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
 FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
 FISKE, ETHEL
 FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
 FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
 FORD, LILIAN FISK
 FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUN-
 CEY
 FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
 FOX, JABEZ
 FOXCROFT, FRANK

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
 GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
 GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
 GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
 GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL
 HALL, EDWARD HENRY
 HALL, WILLIAM STICKNEY
 HARRIS, ELIZABETH
 HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL
 HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENT-
 WORTH
 HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS
 HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
 HODGES, GEORGE
 HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON
 HORSFORD, KATHARINE
 HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING

HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
 HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN
 HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY
 HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIX-
 WELL
 HOWE, CLARA
 HUBBARD, PHINEAS
 IRWIN, AGNES

JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY
 KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK
 KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON
 KIERNAN, THOMAS J

LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY
 LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE
 LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
 LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY
 LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
 PREBLE

LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
 McDUFFIE, JOHN
 MCINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
 MCKENZIE, ALEXANDER
 MELLEDGE, ROBERT JOB
 MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
 MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
 MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
 MORISON, ANNE THERESA
 MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
 MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN
 NORTON, GRACE
 NORTON, MARGARET
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINE, JAMES LEONARD
 PAINE, MARY WOOLSON

* Deceased.

PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH
 PARLIN, FRANK EDSON
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
 PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS
 PERRIN, FRANKLIN
 §PERRIN, LOUISA CHARLOTTE
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
 PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY
 PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN

RAND, HARRY SEATON
 READ, ELISE WELCH
 READ, JOHN
 READ, WILLIAM
 REARDON, EDMUND
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
 *ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES
 ROPES, JAMES HARDY
 RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS
 SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTING-
 TON

SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
 SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
 SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
 SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
 SHAPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
 SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
 *SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE
 STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
 STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
 STORER, SARAH FRANCIS
 *SWAN, SARAH HODGES

§ Resigned.

TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
 THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
 THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
 TICKNOR, FLORENCE
 TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
 TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOP-
 KINS
 TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
 NOYES
 TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
 VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN

WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
 WALCOTT, ROBERT
 §WAMBAUGH, SARAH
 WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL
 WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE
 LOCKE
 WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT
 WESSELHOEFT, WALTER
 §WHITE, EMMA ELIZA
 WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
 WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEW-
 ART
 WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICH-
 ARDSON
 WILLARD, SUSANNA
 WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
 WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
 WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
 WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
 §WRIGHT, PAMELIA KEITH
 WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
 WYMAN, MORRILL
 YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

* Deceased.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

*AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER	GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY
BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	LOVERING, ERNEST
DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN	NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREAD-
FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY	WELL
FARLEY	*NILES, WILLIAM HARMON
*GILMAN, ARTHUR	WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

* Deceased.

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

VI

PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 24—OCTOBER 24, 1911



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

1912

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
TWENTIETH MEETING	5
THE STATE ARSENAL AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CANNON ON THE CAMBRIDGE COMMON	5
ADDRESS: ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE	5
THE AIMS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF NEW ENGLAND ANTIQUITIES	16
ADDRESS: CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON	16
A FEW OLD CAMBRIDGE HOUSES	17
ADDRESS: MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI	17
TWENTY-FIRST MEETING	27
THE CAMBRIDGE HUMANE SOCIETY	27
ADDRESS: EDWARD HENRY HALL	27
WHY I STARTED THE INDEX TO PAIGE'S HISTORY OF CAM- BRIDGE	33
ADDRESS: CHARLES JOHN MCINTIRE	33
HISTORY AND THE LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY	41
ADDRESS: FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER	41
TWENTY-SECOND MEETING. SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING	42
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	42
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY	45
REPORT OF THE CURATOR	47
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	47
ELECTION OF OFFICERS	49
MARY HUNTINGTON COOKE	49
ADDRESS: GEORGE HODGES	49
THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE PROPOSED NEW CHARTER FOR CAMBRIDGE	53
ADDRESS: LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON	53

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	73
NECROLOGY	76
OFFICERS	79
COMMITTEES	80
MEMBERS	81
REGULAR	81
ASSOCIATE	84
HONORARY	84
BY-LAWS	85

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE TWENTIETH MEETING

THE TWENTIETH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fourth day of January, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE, Esq. read the following paper :

THE STATE ARSENAL AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CANNON ON THE CAMBRIDGE COMMON

AT first I felt like apologizing for my effort to disturb a harmless tradition which for more than thirty years has given an impression to our citizens that in our midst were cannon dead enough as artillery, because spiked and filled with mortar, but giving life to the memory of the valiant Knox and his co-patriots. But, impelled by statements made by the honored dead and by the circumstances of those who dwelt at the Common's edge from the earliest times, who were my progenitors and whose nobility of spirit perpetuates in me an undiminished glow of local patriotism, I shall now read to you words which, however dry in detail, seem to afford information worthy of perpetuation by our Society.

The proper recognition of the value of these cannon and of their condition represents the quality of the conduct of our local government, and any serious and long-continuing neglect to preserve these ancient relics should cause all our citizens to question whether our municipality is as sound as it should be. I do not wish to emphasize or encourage memorialization of a thoughtless character, but these guns were planted in our Common one hundred years (1875) after its occupation by our patriotic army, to be kept there in safe condition forever; and as long as we permit warlike memorials they should hold a most dignified position.

Whoever realizes what a great piece of land our Common is, when considered historically, will certainly exert his utmost strength to keep it free from any further memorials to individuals. Our age and time is overwhelmed with the thoughtless habit of memorializing distinguished men and women without discrimination as to the soundness and continuing value of their lives. Let this Society beware lest it unwittingly cheapen our Common by permitting any further incumbrances upon its "Training Field." To secure its dignity and its natural beauty may at some time require the outspoken protest of our most patriotic men and women; should such time unhappily be upon us, let this Society do its full duty.

I do not find that Massachusetts, whether colony or province, had any other place than "The Castle" for deposit of munitions of war in large quantity. On the accession of William it was called Castle William, and after cession to the United States by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts President John Adams called it Fort Independence—the name it now bears. The history of "The Castle," built in 1633, destroyed by fire, rebuilt and again and again provided with ordnance by the royal government, is well known. In 1692, after the second charter, the Crown provided ordnance for four bastions known as "Crown," "Rose," "Royal," "Elizabeth." Twenty-four cannon were nine-pounders, twelve twenty-fours, eighteen were thirty-twos, and four were forty-twos. At this time invasion by the French from Canada was expected.

After the accession of William, Colonel William Wolfgang Romer, an able German engineer, rebuilt the fortifications, and it is said one hundred pieces of cannon, including some forty-twos, were

then mounted. In 1740 the Shirley Bastion was constructed with twenty forty-twos mounted, and in 1744 a present of guns came from George II, said to be thirty-twos. In 1749, according to one writer, there were one hundred and four cannon besides bombs and mortars at "The Castle." After the evacuation of "The Castle" by the British in March, 1776, the Americans found a number of cannon at that fort, although the arms of most of them had been broken off; still some spiked guns were redrilled and some mutilated thirty-twos were repaired by affixing new trunnions or arms by strong iron hoops. The "Somerset," a British man-of-war, which in 1758, during the reign of George II, took part at Louisburg and Quebec, was wrecked in 1778 off Cape Cod, and supplied to this fort twenty-one handsome thirty-twos, probably bearing the "2 G. R." mark. About that time the Commonwealth rebuilt the works, so that in the new fortification, besides the ancient and mutilated iron cannon, there were twenty-one thirty-twos, three nines, twelve fours, iron cannon and thirteen saluting pieces, eleven of which were nines and probably all were brass or copper. Of this armament, the iron ordnance was all British-made. I find a Massachusetts resolve of November 2, 1776, passed for the purpose of establishing a furnace in Massachusetts to cast and bore large cannon; but, while brass or copper cannon were undoubtedly cast hereabouts, it seems probable that in 1776, and for some years after, only iron cannon were cast in or near Philadelphia, at Hope Furnace in Rhode Island, or at Hughes's Foundry in Cecil County, Maryland, and at Salisbury, Connecticut. At the latter place John Jay and Gouverneur Morris, as agents, superintended the casting of cannon, and there guns for the "Constellation" and the "Constitution" were cast. Cyrus Alger did not begin his work at South Boston until 1809, and he manufactured iron cannon during the War of 1812. Much earlier, June 9, 1798, when the frigate "Constitution" was being armed, Major William Perkins at Fort Independence was ordered to deliver to Captain Nicholson, commander of the frigate, not exceeding sixteen eighteens. Admiral Preble, in his history of the Boston Navy Yard, writes that the "Constitution" carried through the War of 1812 and long after, for her first battery, guns which bore the monogram "G. R.," showing their English origin.

By the Act of June 25, 1798, the fort now called Independence and the island where it stands were ceded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the United States of America, reserving the ordnance and all warlike stores then on the island which were the property of the Commonwealth. In estimating the sums received for this property by agreement of the parties, it appears that by a new agreement of the 3d of September, 1803, the amounts received by the Commonwealth from leaving out the mutilated cannon were reduced to \$21,336.37; "the guns saved from the 'Somerset' were retained." Whether this means that the Commonwealth or the United States of America retained these guns is a matter of inference, but at all events it thus appears that these thirty-twos were still existing and not in use. On October 2, 1798, among the iron cannon at "The Castle" were twelve thirty-twos on carriages and eleven thirty-twos dismounted.

In 1835, among other iron cannon at Cambridge were detailed four thirty-twos and two twelves, and among the gun carriages five thirty-twos, fort carriages. May 8, 1848, George Devereau, adjutant and acting quartermaster-general, wrote to the governor and council that the number of cannon at the Arsenal to be sold was thirty-seven, weighing 175,157 pounds. "Some of the guns," he wrote, "bear the British royal cipher and came from Fort Independence." "Perhaps," he adds, "it may be well to reserve two or more, as a matter of interesting association. This may be easily provided for in a resolve." George W. Rayne, born in 1837, son of George Rayne, superintendent of the Arsenal, says that thirty-four dismounted guns were stored for many years in sheds on land now occupied by the house of the late George S. Saunders Esq., then part of the Arsenal grounds; that in 1848 there was a sale of this ordnance to the South Boston Iron Works; that his father, the superintendent of the Arsenal, selected the three guns now on Cambridge Common from the whole stock of cannon in the sheds and put them on the Arsenal grounds, where they stood on carriages for many years; and that his father put a tin sign on them, marked "Left on Fort Independence at the Evacuation of Boston." There was also at the Arsenal a large, high-wheeled carriage which was intended for the transportation of heavy ordnance by slinging the cannon between the wheels with heavy chains.

In addition to a discrepancy between Knox's inventory¹ and the weights and calibre of the three cannon² it is well known that the carriages bearing these cannon are ship or fort carriages (sea-coast). And it is generally believed by all experts in our Revolutionary ordnance history that Knox's guns went with Washington's army to New York. General Knox, in 1778, when seeking ordnance, does not ask for thirty-twos. The largest cannon he thought of was twenty-four, the standard size gun of that time. In 1781 no thirty-twos were sent to Yorktown and thirty-twos were thought of for a proposed siege. The only iron siege cannon at Yorktown were twenty-fours and eighteens with the American army and sixteens and twenty-fours with the French.

Drake, in his book published in 1874, entitled "Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex," page 265, writes :

¹ S. A. Drake, Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, pp. 544-545 : Schedule of cannon brought from Ticonderoga by General Knox December 10, 1775.

² The three cannon on Cambridge Common were identified by Mr. William Read, the marks, weights, bores, and lengths being as follows :

The one on left of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown, G. R. 19, Arrow (being Government property mark, H. B. M. Ordnance). Inside of right arm this mark. $\overline{\text{A}}$	(By weight cut into gun.) Cwt. q. lbs. 54 0 24	6 1/2 in.	9 ft. 7 in.
(About 6072 lbs.)			(Probably 32-pounder.)

The one on right of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown (being obliterated), No. 1298, no Arrow. Inside of left arm. ∇	Cwt. q. lbs. 50 1 9	6 1/2 in.	9 ft. 8 in.
(About 5637 lbs.)			(Probably 32-pounder.)

The one back of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown (obliterated), shape of rose, No. 22, Arrow. Inside of left arm, "R."	Cwt. q. lbs. 28 2 0	4 1/2 in.	9 ft. 1 in. or with bevelled edge.
(About 3192 lbs.)			(Probably 12-pounder.)

“The visitor will find some relics of the siege at the State Arsenal on Garden Street in several pieces of artillery mounted on sea-coast carriages and arranged within the enclosure. These guns were left in Boston by Sir William Howe * * * it is to be hoped that the State of Massachusetts can afford to keep these old war-dogs which bear the crest and cipher of Queen Anne and the Second George. All have the broad arrow, but rust and weather have nearly obliterated the inscriptions impressed at the royal foundry. The oldest legible date is 1687.”

Within the houses at the Arsenal before 1874 were two beautiful brass field pieces with date 1760-1761, and two Spanish pieces of December, 1767, and other valuable relics. All had in 1874 disappeared, excepting one cannon. This British trio, that never will again make a sound excepting it be by falling to the ground from rotten carriages, was well known to the late Estes Howe, of Cambridge, a man of accurate memory and interested in local history, who repeatedly referred to them as from the fort in the harbor, but a pleasing tradition has been perpetuated in print several times in Cambridge historical memorials which would be most gratifying to me. It is that the cannon were taken at Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Ethan Allen and his men and brought here by General Knox. (My maternal ancestor was with Allen in May, 1775, and was commended in public proclamation to the Continental Congress.) That this cannot be the correct statement of their origin I think I have herein proved. The cannon were granted to the City of Cambridge by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by resolve of March 31, 1875, as the three old iron British cannon and their carriages now in the State Arsenal yard to be kept in good condition forever. Their present condition (January, 1911) is deplorable.

The grant to the City was promoted by the late Isaac Bradford, who in 1863, as a young captain, with his command guarded the Arsenal and lived near by. His interest in the military affairs of Cambridge led to the planting of the cannon on the place where our patriot army encamped. It is to be hoped that soon our authorities will protect the guns from falling to the earth and thus save our city from dishonor and our children from danger. The only justification for the words marked upon the stone near the cannon —

"These guns were used by the Continental Army in the Siege of Boston during the American Revolution" — is that, although they may have been used by the British against the Americans before the evacuation, possibly the Massachusetts militia who afterwards occupied the fort, artillery men under Colonel John Trumbull, detachments from Colonels Marshall's and Whitney's regiments of militia, particularly Crafts's train of artillery, may have mounted these guns, with others, when Shirley Bastion was prepared to defend Boston Harbor after March, 1776. There were a few shots fired at the British transports which, June 16-17, 1776, were captured with Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell and several hundred of the Seventy-first Regiment, Frazer's Highlanders, but I doubt if any shots were fired from Castle Island.

Thus ends the story of the guns, and it is the only story I can tell now; perchance some London ordnance authority may refer me to Woolwich or Carron, but, whatever the future may afford as to the making of the guns, it seems worth while to recall the place they guarded before they came to their present position; it was the State Arsenal grounds near the post flag-staff. During the earlier years of the class of 1855 at Harvard, probably the freshman year, Francis C. Barlow, of that class, discharged one or more of these cannon, probably the last of their warlike use. Later in his life that student became a brave general, and to-day the land is occupied by his classmate. The disappearance of the Arsenal from Cambridge makes it worth while to recall its existence, otherwise to many of the coming generations Arsenal Square ("square" being a common misnomer hereabouts) will always be a triangle without meaning. About one hundred and fifteen years ago the impending difficulties with the French led our Commonwealth to consider the necessity for the better storage of its munitions of war, and as Cambridge a little more than twenty years earlier had been the centre of military activities, with barracks and a laboratory at the upper or westerly part of the Common, Cambridge was selected as the place for the State Arsenal. For public and probably warlike purposes buildings had been maintained there as public storehouses since 1776 continuously until April, 1785, when a question arose as to the right of the proprietors of Common lands to lease parts of the Common so occupied, and it may be inferred that this question

led the authorities to acquire title to land favorably situated for the use of the Commonwealth and thus avoid paying rent to either the proprietors or the town of Cambridge. However that may be, June 10, 1796, Massachusetts bought of Joseph Bates, housewright, a piece of land bounding westwardly on the road commonly called "Milk-Porridge Lane" (now a part of Garden Street) and, no doubt, moved the old buildings or built new and inexpensive buildings thereon to store any materials of war that should come to the Commonwealth whenever acquired by purchase from the United States or private parties.

In 1813 more land adjoining was purchased from the heirs of Bates, and in March, 1817, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse sold to Massachusetts land adjoining. His letter of January 10, 1817, to Amasa Davis, quartermaster-general, is worth preservation. The following is a copy of it:

AMASA DAVIS, Esq., Quartermaster-General.

SIR, — I have considered your proposition and consulted gentlemen of judgment relative to parting with the piece of ground for the Arsenal, and presume that you and I can hit what is just and right that the Commonwealth should give and I receive for it.

I must beg you, however, to consider that I have no wish to part with any of my land. I have only between nine and ten acres, just enough to keep my creatures and amuse me in its cultivation. I had rather increase than diminish the boundary of my land. Thus circumstanced, no one can suppose that I could estimate my land otherwise than by the foot like all the house lots.

It is easy to see that this valuable military depot will extend itself. It cannot be otherwise. In time of war it would doubtless have an armorers and carpenter's shop with barracks for a subaltern's guard, with other needful accompaniments; and this would create a neighborhood not very desirable to cornfields, orchards and fruit gardens. The very spot you wish for is part of that portion of my land which I have often contemplated as the most proper for two house lots and two gardens.

Respecting the price, I will observe that the late Governor Gerry sold his land for more than 25 cents the square foot. Land has been lately sold at Cambridgeport for $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents the foot. Now I am willing to sell mine to the Commonwealth for half that sum, viz. $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ the square foot, and this I presume neither you nor the Government would ever think out of the way.

Judge Winthrop told me yesterday that the United States gave him two thousand, five hundred dollars per acre for the land on Governors Island, on which is built Fort Warren.

Should you take the land, I would endeavor to accommodate you as it regards bringing on your materials provided it would not interfere with my spring work or open my grounds to the ingress of cattle and depredators. I presume you will need 140 feet by, I guess, 85. But of this you are the best judge.

I am, sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

In 1848 an exchange of land by Mrs. Louisa Waterhouse and the Commonwealth made Follen Street possible, and, I think, there was no further acquisition of land for Arsenal purposes until 1864, when a lot having 418 feet front on Chauncy Street was purchased from the Waterhouse heirs. Twenty years later, June 6, 1884, the whole estate, buildings and land, was sold to a private citizen for private use. While I cannot give a full statement of the Arsenal buildings, I can give some detail. December 12, 1816, the General Court found that there was an absolute necessity for additional buildings for the safe keeping of munitions of war. January 12, 1818, Governor Brooks reported to the Senate and House that a fire-proof distributing arsenal and laboratory in Boston (this was on Carver Street), which was sold in 1847, and a fire-proof brick building in Cambridge were complete and all within the appropriation of \$14,000. The building in Cambridge is described in the Resolve of 1816 to be 100 feet long by 40 feet wide and three stories high, this to be used as a place for the more permanent deposit of tents, camp equipage, fixed ammunition, and other munitions of war.

In the year 1848-1849 (see Resolve 28, April, 1849), some old wooden sheds at the Arsenal were sold, as well as some war material (probably the same sale referred to by Mr. Rayne), and a "neat and elegant building erected $1\frac{1}{2}$ stories high, 100 feet long and 25 feet wide, with slated roof and finished attic, all for \$2,728.78." I suppose this was the building which stood at right angles with the building of 1816-1818 and perhaps almost parallel with Garden Street. It was the office of the superintendent, and somewhere in

it, I am told, cartridges were made during some part of the War of 1861-1865.

Besides sheds, on the land near Follen Street, there was built, under authority of an act of 1852, a brick dwelling house with a slate roof for the use and occupation of the keeper; the cost was not to exceed \$2500. Finally, in 1864 or 1865, a machine shop was built in the rear of the building of 1816-1818, which, after it had for some time been lying idle, was occupied by the youth of Cambridge, who there, in 1876, organized the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. Its beginnings were characteristic of its members, who with their own hands erected the stage and made their scenery and enacted plays of Sheridan and other classic dramatists.

April 29, 1861, Harvard students signed an obligation to obey such drill officers as the corporation might appoint. They were uniformed and organized into a battalion of four companies under command of Joseph Hayes, of the Harvard class of 1855, afterwards a brave general officer with the brevet of major-general. This battalion guarded the Arsenal during May, 1861, and perhaps at other times. Two hundred and fifty-seven names of students of this battalion appear upon the rolls at the State House.

Again, in 1863, during the draft riots of that summer, the Washington Home Guard, a Cambridge company commanded by Captain Isaac Bradford, afterwards chief of the police and later mayor, did guard duty there. During a night of their occupancy Governor Andrew sent wagons to convey muskets, rifles, and ammunition from the Arsenal to the State House. Although the principal arsenal for the Commonwealth, there were many years between 1796 and 1884 when the estate was a place for equipments that were decaying. Massachusetts took small part in the land forces of the War of 1812. Perhaps General Sumner's words may be worth quoting, to show the possible celerities of 1812-1814. He writes that men twenty miles distant from headquarters laboring in the fields and workshops appeared at the places to which they were summoned in their military attire, furnished with three days' rations as the law required, in twenty hours from the time the videttes notified them of danger. Officered by men of their choice, this militia garrisoned the forts of the metropolis and of other principal towns during 1814, while the regulars marched from the maritime to the inland fron-

tier. In the Mexican War one regiment raised by Caleb Cushing from Massachusetts served as United States volunteers. In 1843 some repairs were made and then, about 1849, came some activity — “a year’s supply from the United States,” referred to in the quartermaster-general’s letter of June 5, 1849, to the governor, compels the quartermaster-general to ask for more storage room.

Furthermore, he recommends the sale of several hundred damaged muskets and a number of old gun carriages, the cannon belonging to which have been melted up, and which are in themselves wholly unserviceable, together with a lot of condemned cartridge boxes, belts, and other small equipment. The old gun carriages were out-of-doors and becoming less valuable. There were about twenty old gun carriages, tumbrils, and at times white oak for gun carriages was there stored. Some pieces of mahogany were found, showing the variety of arms which may have been there. During the War of 1861–1865 a great variety of tents and equipments were stored and sold at the Arsenal. Perhaps some articles were from captured blockade runners. There were a few heavy cannon deposited on the grounds — Dalgrens painted red — though one witness thinks some Blakelys, painted brown, were there; and it is known that two thousand equipments for infantry, made of brown leather probably from captured blockade runners, were sold from the Arsenal to private parties.

Cambridge gave little attention to the Arsenal. Poets and patriots, trees and old mansion houses have taken the fancy of almost all writers, but Cambridge has not yet conquered the brutal spirit in man or boy. However much the acts of peace are cultivated, the love of immediate power and success compels some preparation for defence against some enemy on earth, and at the entrance to Cambridge called Massachusetts Avenue stands a modern State armory, of considerable luxury in its arrangements, where a citizen militia is drilled and entertained. I trust, however, that the exercise derived from military manoeuvres may increase the standard of moral and physical health, without laying too much emphasis upon war as a probable necessity at times when, as General Sherman said, because weak men were in high office he was obliged to draw the sword.

For the second topic of the meeting CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON gave, with photographic illustrations, an address, of which the following is an abstract by the Secretary:

THE AIMS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF NEW ENGLAND ANTIQUITIES

THE work already accomplished by this new Society has awakened public opinion on matters of local historic interest and value. In these days of improvement and progress old houses of distinction in design and architecture should not be allowed to be torn down. They stand as present examples for guidance to our knowledge of the past. Old landmarks should be carefully and faithfully preserved, their quaint and odd features being of special significance and worth.

Movements of a similar kind have long been active abroad, as shown in the preservation and restoration of a large number of houses in which great men have lived. Among them may be mentioned—and here illustrated by photographs—the Harvard house at Stratford, the Dr. Johnson house in London where his “Dictionary” was written, the John Knox house in Edinburgh, the Burns home at Alloway, the Carlyle house at Chelsea, and in Italy the house of Raphael at Urbino.

In our own country it is to be noted that old houses in the Southern States were generally built of stone, in contrast with those of the Northern States, which are mostly of wood. The latter are for that reason much less durable, and need all the more care and attention for their adequate preservation. Among New England houses may be singled out the Devotion house in Brookline, an interesting example of early architecture and now used as a museum, the Pierce house in Newbury, and the White-Ellery house in Gloucester. Incidentally it is to be observed that the automobile has been doing much to preserve old houses, by making accessible remote parts of all communities.

A careful study of old houses in the Connecticut Valley has just been made by the founder of this Society, Mr. William S. Appleton. In the next issue of its Bulletin will be described the old garrison houses of New England, of which there are only a few left, and

some of these have been covered over with clapboards. Among other objects for preservation are windmills, of which some twenty-five are still active. Interesting instances of repairs of old houses are those of the Craddock house in Medford, and more recently of the House of Seven Gables in Salem, which has been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition, including even the old hidden stairway.

Plans are now being made to save a number of old houses about New England, one of them being in Newburyport, and another the Austin house in Cambridge. In both instances it is the purpose and the hope of the Society that the houses may be bought outright, and that afterward they may be kept in repair and rented to responsible people, who, in consideration of the rent, will become their caretakers and open the houses to public visitors at occasional or stated times.

In this movement for the preservation of old houses and other relics of the past the interest is becoming wide-spread, and as a most encouraging result the membership of our new Society is already large. The co-operation of the Cambridge Historical Society and of all its members is most cordially solicited. As an aid to that co-operation our Society will publish, from time to time, bulletins which will give full information about old houses and about other objects of similar antiquarian interest.

For the third topic of the meeting Mrs. MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI read the following paper :

A FEW OLD CAMBRIDGE HOUSES

OUR Cambridge poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, has written

“ All houses wherein men have lived and died
Are haunted houses.”

“ We have no title-deeds to house or lands ;
Owners and occupants of earlier dates
From graves forgotten stretch their dusty hands,
And hold in mortmain still their old estates.”

Do we not feel this when we cross the threshold of a seventeenth-century house ? Are we not carried back to the days of

high thinking and plain living, when large families were brought up in what seem to us incredibly close quarters? Or when we stand in the hall-way of a lordly eighteenth-century house do we not catch glimpses of powdered heads and queues, of small clothes and diamond knee-buckles, of patches and high-heeled shoes, as the ghostly occupants flit through the wainscoted rooms?

“We meet them at the doorway, on the stair,
Along the passages they come and go.”

How does a man who is not a great thinker, writer, or teacher more impress the men of the generations that succeed him than by his house? Men build their characters into their houses, or did before we had architects. If the builder were liberal, his rooms were as large, his windows as wide, as his purse would allow. If he had taste and culture, the ornamentation of his house was from Greek models, restrained, classic; if he were fond of show, his drawing-rooms were grand and courtly; if convivial, his dining-room received the most attention; if warm-hearted and hospitable, his mind turned to lordly guest-chambers; if social, to a ballroom. All these characteristics we see in eighteenth-century houses, when building in New England became a fine art.

It is this personal element in old houses that leads us to visit the birthplaces of famous men. We wish to see the rooms where they first opened their eyes on the world. Here it was that they saw “the vision splendid” of their boyhood. It was in these surroundings, humble or grand, that they worked out the problems of their lives.

In the houses inhabited by those unknown to history it is the atmosphere of family life that we feel. Here were enacted the events of importance to them.

“From that chamber clothed in white,
The bride came forth on her wedding night:
There, in that silent room below,
The dead lay in his shroud of snow.”

All the cycle of human experiences has been witnessed again and again by these old walls; could they speak, what tales we should hear! When an old house with which we have grown familiar is pulled down we feel that we have lost a friend. Has Boston ever

ceased to regret the loss of the John Hancock house? Have we ever ceased to mourn the historic Holmes house? Oh, let us, while there is still time, try to save those houses that will show to our descendants what manner of men their ancestors were!

Cambridge has but few *very* old houses; only three claim to be of the seventeenth century, and the changeableness of the population of our city is emphasized by the fact that there is not a single house, to my knowledge, where the family of the builder has dwelt for eight generations. Such houses are common in Essex County. I remember, in an afternoon spent near Newburyport, seeing at least half a dozen still inhabited, I was told, by the descendants of the builders.

There are three seventeenth-century houses in this neighborhood. One is the Vassall house (94 Brattle Street), which has been so altered and pulled about by its numerous owners that probably the only part remaining of the original house, built by William Adams, is the western chimney, laid with pounded oyster-shells, and the two rooms on each side of it. The Lee-Nichols house may have been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it was the home of a well-to-do farmer in what was then a part of Watertown. It was not until 1758 that Judge Lee enlarged it and made it what it now is. The details of the origin of the third house we know, a house that has not been materially altered or enlarged. Never made elegant or stately, it still remains the cosey home of the old New England type that the builder intended it to be. This is the Cooper-Austin house on Linnæan Street. It was built by Deacon John Cooper in 1657, out of the trees which his townsmen gave him permission to fell on the common lands. The beams are of oak, as solid as when cut two hundred and fifty-odd years ago; the original clapboards are still on it, placed quite near together at the bottom, widening as they go up, and nailed on with old hand-wrought nails. At the east side the third story overhangs the second, and at the back the roof slopes from the ridgepole to within six feet of the ground. In the middle of the house stands the huge five-flued chimney. On either side of the door are large square rooms, both, as well as the two rooms over them, having exposed beams and large fireplaces. At the back is a long room for the

kitchen, with a tiny bedroom at one end; and over this are the two-step bedrooms, so called because they were reached by steps from the front rooms. In the third story are two good-sized rooms with windows in the gables.

John Cooper was a prominent man of his time. He was selectman for forty-four years from his election in 1646, town clerk for twelve years, and deacon of the church for twenty-three years, until his death in 1691, at the age of seventy-three. He came here in 1636 or 1637 with his mother and step-father, Deacon Gregory Stone, who is supposed to have been the brother of Rev. Thomas Hooker's reader in the First Church, Rev. Samuel Stone.

Deacon John Cooper married Anne Sparhawk, daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Sparhawk, who was here in 1636. She was the great-aunt of that Nathaniel Sparhawk who built the old house at Kittery Point and married the daughter of Sir William Pepperell. Their son, Samuel Cooper, who was the next owner of the house, married Hannah, daughter of Deacon Walter Hastings, who came from England with his father John in 1682. Their son, the grandson of the builder, Walter Cooper, inherited the house, and married Martha, daughter of Benjamin Goddard. He seems to have been the first person connected with the house who was not a deacon. When he died in 1751, Walter Cooper left to his widow Martha "the west half of his dwelling house, with liberty of the oven in t' other room, the east half of the barn, and liberty to pass and re-pass about the house and barn," privileges which she enjoyed for many years, for she outlived her son, the next heir, a second Walter, who married Lydia Kidder, daughter of Thomas and Lydia (Prentice) Kidder. The first husband of Lydia (Prentice) Kidder had been John Cooper, brother of the first Walter Cooper. This marriage took place in 1755, and Walter Cooper Jr. died the following year, at the age of twenty-seven (before the birth of his son Walter, who died when two years old); so his widow, Lydia, inherited the east half of the house. She married for her second husband Jonathan Hill in 1763. He bought out the rights of the Widow Martha Cooper to the west half, oven, and barn, and the house passed from the family of the builder after more than a hundred years of occupancy.

Of this second marriage two children were born, Jonathan Cooper

Hill and Lydia, and now we come to the only romance of the old house that has become public property. When Lydia was baptized in the old meeting-house in the College Yard, in 1766, a student of the College was present, and tradition says that she made such an impression on him that he then and there declared that he would marry her. Nearly ten years later this student, then Major Fogg, of Kensington, New Hampshire, staff officer of Colonel Poor's regiment, was stationed in Cambridge and made the acquaintance of little Lydia; after the war of the Revolution was over he returned and married her. In 1788 she and her brother sold the house to Deacon Gideon Frost, a great-grandson of Deacon John Cooper who built the house. His descendants still own it. Martha, daughter of Gideon Frost, married Thomas Austin of Boston and died in 1838; her daughter married, in 1837, Rev. Reuben Seiders, who before his marriage changed his name to Richard Thomas Austin. So to the last two generations this has been known as the Austin house. Thus this house has been in the family of the builder more than two hundred and fifty years, except for the twenty-three years when it went by inheritance and purchase into the Hill family — a record I think no other Cambridge house possesses.

Until 1839-1840 Cambridge was rich in seventeenth-century houses. The first house built here by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Dudley was burned in 1666, as I learned from the deed given in 1691 by Edward Pelham, son of Herbert Pelham, member of Cromwell's parliament. No picture is known to exist of this house, so we cannot judge whether or not Governor Dudley was guilty of the fault of which he was accused by his contemporaries, of wanton luxury in the wainscoting of his house.

In 1839 the first tavern, that stood on Dunster Street next door to the first meeting-house and was kept by the first deacon, was also destroyed by fire. Nothing remains to us of this but the old door step, the property of the Misses Harris, which I hope may some day belong to this Society, for the feet of every early settler in Cambridge must have pressed that stone.

In 1840 many of the old houses were still standing. Having sheltered six generations in the two hundred years, they were good for many another year, but the village of Cambridge was awakening and was transforming itself into the modern city that it became in

1846. These houses stood in the way of improvements and they fell by the hand of man.

Fortunately for us, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy sketched one of the oldest of these houses, which stood in the College Yard. It was built in 1633 for the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the first minister, who lived in it until he went with the Braintree Company to Connecticut. His eldest daughter became the second wife of his successor, Rev. Thomas Shepard, and was mistress for eight years of the house built for her father. The year after her death the minister married a third wife, Margaret Boradel, and dying two years later left church and house and wife to his successor, Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, who bought the house in 1651, and lived in it eighteen years, until his death in 1668.

The next occupant of whom we have any knowledge was President John Leverett, 1696-1724; next it became the property of Professor Wigglesworth, first Hollis professor of Divinity. His son succeeded him in the professorship and in the ownership of the house, living in it until his death in 1794. After that Richard H. Dana, the first of the name, lived in it, and it had other occupants whose names we do not know. During its last years a school for little girls was held here by Miss Austin and later by Miss Mary Hedge, which was attended by some of the older members of this Society.

Another house built in this same year was standing within the memory of many, the Haynes house, on the west side of Winthrop Square. This was built by John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who went to the latter State with the Hooker Company in 1636. Mr. Littlefield thinks that this mansion was built around a court like the house that Governor Haynes later built in Connecticut, but the memory of those who knew the house in its latter days does not confirm this theory. It was to this house that the widow of Rev. Jose Glover came when she landed here with her fatherless children, the Daye family, and the first printing-press. Here it was that she married Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard College. Alas, the house rich in so many associations went in the fifties!

Another house about which old people still talk, and which fell before the middle of the nineteenth century, is the Hancock house.

It stood on the east side of Dunster Street, about a hundred yards south of Harvard Square, and was built by Nathaniel Hancock in 1634. He died young, about 1648; his widow and children lived here, and his famous grandson, John Hancock, of Lexington, Harvard College 1689, called "the Bishop" (grandfather of Governor John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence), was born in this house. The Hancocks owned and lived in it for nearly a century, and it then became the home of Judge Samuel Danforth, who was here almost fifty years, until Revolutionary times. The house is described when it was destroyed, "as old and weather beaten, with second storey projecting quite three feet beyond the lower floor."

Another house that fell in 1843 was the Old Parsonage, built in 1670, in the College Yard, east of the Hooker House. Its first occupant was Rev. Urian Oakes. Next came Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, and he was followed by the revered pastor, Rev. William Brattle. His successor, Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, was living here at the time of the Revolution, and was followed by Rev. Timothy Hilliard. The last minister to live here was Rev. Abiel Holmes. After that probably various professors occupied it until it was pulled down.

Another house, to the existence of which eyewitnesses remain, was that built for Captain Patrick, the blustering Irishman who trained the earliest settlers in their military duties. He came here in 1632. After his welcome departure Christopher Cane lived here; his daughter Ruth Cane married that picturesque character Marmaduke Johnson, who, sent out here in 1660 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, for the purpose of printing the Indian Bible, used his spare time in making love to the Puritan maidens while he had a wife in England, to the great dismay and annoyance of the magistrates. He lived only four years after his marriage, but Ruth must have loved him, for she left the house to her family on condition that Marmaduke's son "did not come out of England to get it."

Judah Monis, who abjured Judaism and embraced Christianity in 1723, and the following year was made professor of Hebrew, bought this house, that same year, of the Canes. After the Battle of Bunker Hill it was used as a hospital, and the Baron von Riede-

sel and his family were quartered in it for a short time. Later it was bought by the learned Thaddeus Mason, who died here in 1802, aged ninety-five. It stood at the southeast corner of Winthrop and Boylston Streets, with its fine old door on the former street and beautiful garden behind.

Directly opposite stood a quaint little house which disappeared so silently that no one marked the date of its going. It was supposed to have been built for that Mrs. Elizabeth Sherborne who concealed and cared for Rev. Thomas Shepard before he left London. She died in 1652. It was long the home of Peter Towne, sexton of the First Church, who was one of the earliest abolitionists, as in his will, dated 1705, he freed his slaves and left them legacies. John Bradish succeeded him.

Another seventeenth-century house that gave place to a college club-house only six years ago stood on the corner of Holyoke Street and Holyoke Place. Joseph Cooke, the friend of Shepard, and his descendants lived there for more than a century, the original house having been rebuilt and much enlarged in 1668. In 1737 it was bought by President Holyoke as a dower house for his wife, who lived here during her widowhood, her son-in-law, Professor Eliphalet Pearson, continuing to reside there after her death. Later it was owned by the Winthrops.

All these houses were in the village, that is, between the College Yard and the river. There was also a group of four houses of like early date and architecture on Holmes Place. They were the Meane-Hastings house, the Percival-Greene house, the Parks-Gannett house, and the house of Moses Richardson, later the home of Royal Morse. All these are gone, the last being taken down in 1888.

I have dwelt so long on the early houses that I have left no time for the stately mansions of the next century. These are better known to us and have been often described. Fortunately Tory Row still continues to be the aristocratic end of the town, and the houses have not fallen in the social scale, and lapsed into that sad state that pains us in so many old towns. Only three of the pre-Revolutionary houses, as far as I now remember, have fallen from their high estate: the Ralph Inman house, that once stood where the City Hall now stands, which has been taken to Brookline Street

and curtailed of its fair proportions; the Lechmere-Sewell house, better known to us as the Riedesel house, moved from under its fine lindens and partly rebuilt and now standing at the corner of Riedesel Avenue and Brattle Street; and the house of Professor John Winthrop, to whose hospitable door the scientists of his day all came, and where the meetings of the Committee of Safety were held in the dark days before the Revolution. This house, on the northwest corner of Mount Auburn and Boylston Streets, has been turned around to face the latter street and transformed into a small shop, so that it no longer bears any likeness to the learned professor's home.

The eighteenth-century houses in Cambridge fall into three groups. In the first group were the gambrel-roofed houses, like the Holmes house. We still have with us the Wadsworth house, 1726, the Brattle house, 1727, the John Hicks house, Dunster Street, corner of Winthrop Street, and the Captain Edward Marrett house, originally built on the northeast corner of Dunster and Mount Auburn Streets, but lately turned around to the south and now numbered 77 Mount Auburn Street. This house is noticeable for its fine paneled door, a replica of the east door of the Vassall house. These two houses were built in 1760.

Of the grander houses, in the style we call Colonial, we have several that form the second group: Craigie house, 1759, Apthorp house, Fayerweather house, and Elmwood, all built about 1760. To which should be added as worthy of note, though built after the Revolution, the Philips-Norton house, on Irving Street, 1790, and the Thomas Lee house, 153 Brattle street, 1799.

In the third group I would place those humbler houses that followed more closely the seventeenth-century houses, such as the Read house, 1726, the Waterhouse house, 1740, and the Watson-Davenport house, at the corner of Massachusetts and Rindge Avenues.

A fine example of the house of a rich merchant at the beginning of the nineteenth century is that of Mr. John Chipman Gray, corner of Fresh Pond Lane and Brattle Street. Its spacious front and high-studded rooms conceal the older Wyeth house, whose small windows, paneled doors and quaint chimney cupboards are still to be seen at the back of the house.

We have much yet to learn of our old houses, but the past gives up its secrets grudgingly and only to the persevering seeker. May there be many such in our Society!

At the conclusion of Mrs. Gozzaldi's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of April, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, D.D., read the following paper :

THE CAMBRIDGE HUMANE SOCIETY

ON January 2, 1911, this Society received notice of the disbandment of the Cambridge Humane Society, which had just completed the ninety-seventh year of its beneficent activity. It passed away as quietly as it had lived. Though challenging little attention from the city at large, its career had been a most interesting one, and the annals of the Cambridge Historical Society, no less than the chronicles of our city for nearly a century, would be incomplete without some record of this otherwise unheralded event. Two small volumes with faded leaves are the sole memorial it has left to us ; my duty to-night is to give this brief story a permanent place upon our pages. Once before this story has been told, and I cannot do better than to begin this sketch by citing the main passages of Mr. Arthur Gilman's pamphlet called "An Old-Time Society." It was written for a publication called "The Cambridge of 1896," and is so complete a record of the earlier years of the Society's existence, and gives so much more intimate a sketch of that period than I could write that (with the permission of the publishers) I reproduce it here as part of my paper. [Mr. Gilman's sketch being readily accessible in its original form as printed in

"The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred Ninety-Six," pp. 267-274, as well as in the separate pamphlet used by Dr. Hall, the portions quoted by him are herewith omitted.]

We are fortunate in having this interesting statement [above omitted] of the beginnings of our Society, written *con amore* by one who was himself for twenty-nine years its secretary, and was always one of its most devoted and distinguished laborers.

Among societies of its kind, it is doubtless the most venerable in our city. According to the Boston Directory of Charities, 1901, the only charitable organizations around Boston older than the Humane Society are these: The Boston Dispensary, 1801; The Boston Female Asylum, 1803; The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, 1786; The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, 1784; The Roxbury Charitable Society, 1799.

The dates given are those of incorporation. It must be remembered that the Humane Society was not incorporated, so that there may have been others, unincorporated, which are older still.

The most noteworthy feature of the history of the Society has been the roll of its membership, and the mere names of the officers and more active members whom it has enlisted in its service. Its presidents have been Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., who served it for twenty-three years, from 1814 to 1837; Judge Joseph Story, 1837-1845; Simon Greenleaf, 1845, 1846; John G. Palfrey, 1846-1856; William L. Whitney, 1856-1860; Stephen T. Farwell, 1860-1872; William M. Vaughan, 1872-1875; Francis G. Peabody, 1875-1879; Joseph H. Allen, 1879-1884; Samuel Batchelder, 1884-1888; Francis J. Child, 1888-1895; Richard H. Dana, 1896-1911.

Among its vice-presidents have been Prof. Henry Ware; Henry Ware Jr.; James D. Greene.

Among its secretaries we find Sidney Willard, William J. Whipple, Charles Willard, E. W. Metcalf, C. R. Metcalf, William Watriss, A. H. Ramsay, Charles E. Norton, J. C. Farnham, Samuel Longfellow, Arthur Gilman.

In view of these eminent names, as well as of the commodious quarters in which nowadays so many of our business or charitable organizations are housed, it is instructive to note that the Humane Society contented itself to the end with no special home it could call its own. It met in Porter's Tavern, the Charles River Bank,

Lyceum Hall, the Gas Office, the rooms of the Social Union, the hospitable vestry of one or another of our churches, or the private parlor of the treasurer or secretary.

It will not surprise us to discover, under this order of things, that in the treasurer's modest reports salaries play an exceedingly small part. The most valuable labors in our communities are often the gratuitous ones, contributing to the welfare of the community what money cannot repay. One trembles to think how the treasurer's statements of the Society would have mounted up, had the business men, the statesmen, the chief justices, the lawyers, even the professors, or ministers who figure upon these lists charged upon the Society the market value of services actually rendered. For a time, as many will remember, it availed itself of the assistance of college students, glad of a puny recompense for going from house to house, chiefly I think at mealtimes, to collect the small subscriptions by which the machinery of the Humane Society was so efficiently run. The sum of \$5, \$3, or \$2 from each cheerful giver was sufficient for the most part to meet the demands of administration where the best hearts and brains of the city were freely drawn upon for advice, sympathy, and aid; and \$10 was always a generous subscription. The total annual receipts upon the books averaged about \$500, rising under special incentive to \$684, \$780, and \$1033. The regular annual call upon the generosity of the Society was for a \$500 appropriation.

The records in the two books remaining I am sorry to say are of the briefest kind. The meetings were small, consisting oftener than otherwise of the officers alone, the subjects under discussion very few. Once in a while votes were passed to hold courses of addresses to draw in recruits and to inform the community of the needs of the Society, but no such meeting seems to have been held, the Society evidently preferring to do quietly and from its natural resources the duties it had originally undertaken. If this seems to you almost too monotonous a recital, I may perhaps refer to a certain mystery which overhangs the scanty records, which has caused the present historian much pains to disentangle. Two volumes were put into my hands, giving, as I was told, all the information extant concerning the Cambridge Humane Society. The first contains the official records of the Society, its birth, its lists of members

and officials, its meetings, and its final dissolution. Side by side with this, however, is another small blank-book, containing first a brief financial statement of the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, evidently the original purpose which the blank-book was intended to serve, then, as if so much valuable stationary should not be lost, passing instantly into the inner life of the Cambridge Humane Society, from 1853 to 1866. Its title is simply "Records of the Trustees of the Humane Society." No explanation of this mystic narrative is anywhere given, no statement of origin or ultimate purpose, no attempt to reconcile its facts with the original records whose existence it somewhat contemptuously ignores. Like the other record it issues from the Charles River Bank; its lists of officers and accounts of meetings correspond generally with those of the older volume, though interposing several of which that volume is quite unaware, while quietly omitting others which the older gives in full. A historian with a vivid imagination or desiring to make a good story might suspect here some grave crisis in the proceedings of the Society, some angry dissensions among those high dignitaries, which it was important not to bring to light. Let me say at once, however, though no one whom I have consulted could help me to solve this puzzle satisfactorily, I have come to the conclusion that the hidden cause of the extra volume was the question of appointing a special agent to disburse the Society's funds. Up to that time, as has been seen, all receipts and expenditures were in the hands of the members themselves, without looking abroad for advice or financial aid. About 1853, however, as is not unusual on such occasions, the question began to arise whether affairs could not be managed better by engaging a paid agent and entrusting all investigations and disbursements to his hands. For some time, according to this second chronicle, each meeting closed with some reference to this mooted question.

No strife seems to have risen over the subject, but in due time, November 29, 1853, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton was appointed a committee to consult with Dr. Samuel Sawyer, and offer him the position of agent of the Society, to visit the poor, and act also as superintendent of the evening school, to be paid for his services \$50 a month. Arrangements also were made "to procure and furnish a suitable office for the agent at the expense of the Society" (see

smaller book, November 29, 1853). According to this smaller volume, which seems to know much more about the agent than the larger and older one, this order of things continued, with various vicissitudes, for several years, first under Mr. Sawyer as agent, then under Mr. Atkinson, and finally, at the advice of the Ladies' Humane Society (founded the same year with the male Society), which had come to the financial aid of the latter in this emergency, under Mr. Charles R. Metcalf. The experiment does not seem to have been altogether successful. The agent's salary gradually decreased, a debt was incurred, which the Ladies' Society had to assist in meeting, the question of expenses became more pressing, until finally (1865-1866) the agent appears no more, and the Society reverts quietly to its original basis.

About all these matters relating to the agent, the older volume is noticeably taciturn; but in the other we come upon a single line which throws light at last upon the whole situation. It reads: "Dec. 20, 1866, Voted: that Mrs. H. W. Paine act as agent for the year of 1866." All who lived in Old Cambridge at that time and were acquainted with its humanitarian movements know very well what that statement means. For many years Mrs. Paine's interest in the poor, and wide acquaintance with their needs, her devotion to every good cause and intelligent understanding of the methods of charity, made her almost indispensable in all benevolent activities; and while she was at the head of affairs no question of salaried officials needed to be considered. It is a disappointment to be told so little of the circumstances under which her connection with the Society began, or her exact relation with it. She stood plainly in no official relation to it, but from this time till her death its charitable funds passed through her hands, and her judgment was its controlling factor. It needed nothing but her name to insure for it the confidence of the community, and nothing but her cordial support to carry out all its benevolent ambitions.

It is an interesting proof of the rich resources which the Society had at command in the conduct of its affairs that at the death of Mrs. Paine another stood ready at once to carry it on in the same spirit, and with the same command of the situation. Her death was announced to the Society, May 17, 1887, and at the same meeting the following vote was passed: "That Miss Alice R. Wells

be requested to distribute such funds as the Society raises in the way that Mrs. Paine has distributed it" (p. 62). It was added that, as in the case of Mrs. Paine, Miss Wells is thus made almoner of the Society as a private person, and not as holding any official position. Thus the future of the Society was secured, and it has come down to us of the present day with the fine stamp upon it of these two devoted almoners.

Its closing annals, as shown in our original volume, reveal therefore no changes of policy, and no fresh departures, but the same quiet processes of benevolent activity to the end. Meantime, however, as we all know, the methods of benevolence have changed inevitably with the country's advancing wealth and larger responsibilities, and new and more elaborate theories have come up to solve the problems of charity. I need not dwell upon this familiar tale, and I could not give a clearer statement of the influences at work upon all our benevolent activities than the announcement to which I have already referred, by which the Humane Society declares that its work is done. I close my narrative by giving the words of this Circular:

Whereas, the undersigned are the surviving and remaining trustees of the Cambridge Humane Society, and

Whereas, that Society was founded to provide care chiefly for the sick poor, and incidently for the relief of the indigent, and

Whereas, since the founding of the Society, the Massachusetts General Hospital, which was opened in 1821, the Cambridge Hospital, the Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, which take care of such cases, have been put in operation, and

Whereas, in Cambridge, the Associated Charities, the Female Humane Society, the Paine Fund, to say nothing of other organizations, take care of the Indigent,

IT IS HEREBY unanimously decided, with the full approval of the almoner of the Society, Miss Alice R. Wells, and the Treasurer, Mr. Franklin Perrin, that the Cambridge Humane Society, which has never been incorporated, be disbanded, and that the Treasurer be requested to send a list of our recent donors to the Associated Charities of Cambridge, the Female Humane Society, and the Trustees of the Paine Fund, with a notice of our disbanding.

CAMBRIDGE, January 2, 1811.

For the second topic of the meeting Hon. CHARLES J. MCINTIRE read the following paper :

WHY I STARTED THE INDEX TO PAIGE'S HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE

I HAVE been requested by your Committee to prepare a paper for this meeting explaining how I came to start upon the work of preparing an Index to Paige's "History of Cambridge," which work happily is practically completed and has been surrendered to our Society to print and publish. In view of what now is realized as to the amount of time and careful labor which Mrs. Gozzaldi and her willing associates have been obliged to expend before giving it over to us, I confess that I feel guilty for my presumption, and recognize that my explanation must be largely in the form of apology. When Mr. Ayer overtook me on his wheel a few days ago, and somewhat abruptly announced what the Society desired me to publicly explain, I at first declined, pleading lack of time, but, upon a little urging, I promised that I would give it further consideration. Now, after having considered what mitigating circumstances I might offer, I have come prepared to make full disclosure, and to plead in "confession and avoidance," after the ancient privilege.

A complete and truthful, though very short, reply to your question would be, that I began the task of writing an index to the book because I felt its need for my personal convenience. As this answer, however, would be undoubtedly followed by the query, "Why did you, a busy man, need it so much as to be willing to undertake the task?" I will not wait for the latter inquiry, but will endeavor to state as many of the reasons as occur to me.

Primarily, every native of Cambridge naturally is, or should be, interested in all the facts of her history. Especially so should be one born upon a spot made doubly historic: first, from being a portion of the hundred-acre estate of Thomas Graves, that remarkable man whom the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent over in 1628 to aid by his genius in establishing the settlements at Charlestown and Boston, and who had occupied it with his family for nearly two years before the settlement about Harvard Square; and second, from being the landing place of the British forces, nearly one hundred and fifty

years later, on their way to Lexington and Concord, as well as being the site of Fort Putnam, constructed by Generals Putnam and Heath under the eye and personal direction of General Washington.

Added to this it is my good fortune to be lineally descended, on both paternal and maternal sides, from founders and early settlers of the "Newe Towne." My father's mother, Betsey Holman, had, for progenitors, Sparhawks, Hastingses, Meanes, Moores, Coopers, and Kidders, whom you will recognize as belonging to families closely connected with the church, civil, and military activities of the town, and who lie, some in the old Garden Street churchyard, and others in that older burial place, outside the "Common Pales," not now definitely located, but thought by Paige to be near to and westerly beyond the corner of Brattle and Ash Streets; and my mother's maternal ancestors reached back to John Talcot and his son John, who came over in 1632, with the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, and who, after a few active and important years, the older Talcot being selectman and deputy here, followed Hooker to Hartford and became prominent in the affairs of the Connecticut Colony.

These reasons alone may explain why one might have considerable interest in such a magazine of facts concerning Cambridge history as has been gathered and compiled by Dr. Paige; but it is your wish to know why my interest was so great as to induce me to undertake, unaided, a work of such proportions when official duties were occupying nearly my entire time.

Several things contributed to this. A short time before the History was printed, and about the time Dr. Paige was preparing it for publication, I had some interesting correspondence with the author concerning certain historical facts which I was then engaged in putting into a sketch, and thus I became acquainted with and interested in him as a man as well as a historian. Also, I had been a member of the board of aldermen of Cambridge in 1877, the year when the volume was published, and was appointed by the mayor, together with Mr. George F. Piper, on the special committee to distribute the five hundred copies which, under an order of the previous year, the city had purchased of Dr. Paige.

It may interest you to know, at this point, what led up to the purchase by the city. You may have noticed that the order was

passed in the year 1876, the centennial year in United States history, when patriotic emotion was universally awakened. The records of the aldermen for June 21 will show that a communication had been received from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, transmitting a copy of a joint resolution of the United States Congress, requesting the preparation and filing at Washington of an historical sketch of Cambridge from its foundation; and accordingly it was voted that the mayor be authorized and instructed to cause such a sketch to be obtained and a copy transmitted.

It is known that at this time Dr. Paige had nearly completed his history in manuscript; that unaided he did not feel like taking the financial risk of its publication; and also that he preferred to give whatever benefit might arise from its publication to his city before offering it to a publisher. Whether the interest of the Congress was fostered by friends of Dr. Paige, in order to secure the early printing of his work, I have no knowledge. It is, at the least, a coincidence.

On July 26, 1876, there was a communication from the mayor, stating that he had applied to the Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige for an historical sketch of Cambridge, as its contribution to the records of "the Centennial," and that he had received a reply, which he transmitted; and stating also that he should delay taking further steps before receiving additional expression of the opinion of the city council.

The correspondence over this is instructive and interesting, and the communication from Dr. Paige reads as follows:

CAMBRIDGE, July 18, 1876.

HON. ISAAC BRADFORD, Mayor of Cambridge.

DEAR SIR, — In reply to your official note of the 15th instant, permit me to say, that I am using my utmost exertions to complete a history of Cambridge, on which I have long been engaged, and which I hope may be published before the end of this year, as my Centennial offering. But this I suppose will be a much more voluminous work than is contemplated by the vote of the City Council, and would be considered too unwieldy for acceptance even if the manuscript were offered gratuitously. At my age and with imperfect health I have neither time nor strength to abridge this work into the form of an historical sketch, and therefore must decline the task which you invite me to assume.

Thereupon the matter was laid upon the table until August 28, when the mayor presented another letter from Dr. Paige, as follows:

DEAR SIR, — Your recent request that I should prepare an historical sketch of Cambridge emboldens me to make this communication. My history of Cambridge is nearly completed. It will make an octavo volume of about 750 pages, and will be put to press as the subscription list will warrant the undertaking. There is now an opportunity for the city to secure a sufficient supply of the history for a sum not greatly exceeding the cost of the proposed sketch, especially if a reasonable compensation to the writer of the sketch be included in the cost. If the city council will subscribe for five hundred copies, I may safely say that the price will not exceed four dollars per copy, neatly and substantially bound in cloth; or, if it subscribes for three hundred copies, the price will not exceed five dollars per copy. You will readily understand why the larger number can be afforded at the lower rates. With five hundred copies at an outlay not exceeding \$2000, the city can probably supply the home demand, and also, by a judicious system of exchange, place in its own library the histories of many other cities and towns not otherwise easy to be obtained.

The matter then was referred to a joint special committee, which reported on October 18, favoring the expenditure of not more than \$2000 for the purchase of five hundred copies, to be placed in the Public Library for distribution under future order. The edition was to be one of a thousand copies, one half of which number Dr. Paige would receive for his years of research and labor.

The correspondence with Dr. Paige and the action of the mayor and city council were familiar to me and had awakened my interest. Returning to my explanation, I would say, further, that, not long after the history had been published, the late Mr. Tillinghast, then our State Librarian, and engaged on his valuable work relating to colonial and provincial officials of our Commonwealth, wrote me for particulars regarding one of my forbears, Ezra McIntire, my father's grandsire, whom he had discovered as a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Unable at the time to give the full particulars which he desired, I began to make search, and became then mildly inspired with an interest in genealogy, and from this was led to make considerable subsequent

research, in which I was greatly aided by facts contained in the compilation of Dr. Paige.

In 1886 I was made city solicitor, holding the position for nearly eight years, and in the performance of my duties as such the assistance rendered by Paige was of inestimable value. It was during those years that I became impressed by the wealth of information which the volume contains; but I was frequently hampered and delayed when, in times of haste, I desired to ascertain some fact of importance. It seemed to me that some one, seeing, as I did, the great value and necessity, would surely undertake the preparation of an index, and gradually the idea crept into my mind that I might make one myself!

While city solicitor, however, I never found favorable opportunity to begin, my days being devoted to active duties, and my evenings to the more quiet consideration and study due to the office; and it was not until after I came into my present position that I thought I might make a beginning by devoting to it evenings and holidays.

Although I realized, before taking up the task, that necessarily many long hours must be devoted to complete it, yet it must be confessed that its actual magnitude appeared only as the work progressed. None of you who has had occasion to use freely the history need be told that it is wonderful how much Dr. Paige has put into that single volume of facts, so clearly stated in precise language and without embellishment. He was seventy-six years old when it was published, and had been many years gathering and arranging every item of importance he could find by careful and diligent search at reliable and original sources. He had no faculty of imagination, no power of constructing a long story out of a few facts; and that he fully realized this is shown when, in introducing his completed work, he naïvely writes concerning it, that "the almost entire absence of legendary lore may be regretted; but it should be considered that while it may have been my misfortune, it was not my fault that I was not born in Cambridge and that I had no opportunity in the first thirty years of my life to gather the local traditions which so deeply impress the youthful mind, and which tinge the facts of history with such a brilliant, though often a deceptive light."

I commenced the index for my own personal use and comfort,

coupled with a feeling of satisfaction that it might be of assistance also to my family and friends. It was with no intention of publishing that I began, but while engaged upon it, it did occur to me that possibly, if the effort was a success, at some future time the city might become sufficiently interested to put it in print, for I understood fully the value of such aid to all municipal officers.

In the beginning I took the old-fashioned method of indexing, — that is, by means of a blank book with the letters of the alphabet cut in its margin, — and hopefully I supposed that when the labor was completed this book would be my index for use. I labored in this way for some time. After a while, however, finding that the work never could be accomplished successfully on those lines, I relinquished what I had done and commenced anew, using the card system.

The work became more interesting as it progressed, and as its proportions grew and were more definitely indicated, more time was devoted to it, depriving me of necessary rest and exercise. During the entire period I was performing each day my full judicial duty, and, as should have been expected, after continuing for a considerable time, and when about one third of the chapters were indexed, nature rebelled, and, attacked by nervous indigestion, I was ordered away, to cease all work not obligatory, and devote myself to restoring my health. Reluctantly I put away my material, hoping that at some future time I might take it up again and pursue it to completion.

Such, then, is my explanation, and my apology for venturing upon the undertaking; but the story of the index itself needs a few words to bring it down to the present favorable result.

Some time after I had desisted, as I have described, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who, with the rest of us, had suffered for the want of the index, suggested to Mrs. Mary I. Gozzaldi that the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of which she was then Regent, might do a good and patriotic thing by putting its members at work preparing an index to Paige. Neither she nor he at the time had any information of the beginning which had been made by me, and she brought the subject to the attention of the members at a meeting which soon followed. One of my daughters, then a member, informed the

meeting of what had already been accomplished in that direction, saying that I would gladly contribute it. Thereupon the work was taken up with enthusiasm, was divided among a committee of sixteen members, and an advisory committee was appointed outside of their body. Mrs. Gozzaldi took the direction of the task, and with zeal devoted herself unceasingly to its completion, taking for herself the hardest and largest part, the genealogical; and now after nearly seven years from the time of the suggestion made by Colonel Higginson, and after many interruptions, obstacles, and lapses, the almost completed work is in our hands, a monument to the energy of woman. If, as I hope, my effort has relieved the good ladies, who have gone on, undismayed, with so much determination and persistency to the end, of but a small amount of the labor which proved necessary to complete the undertaking, then I am fully requited for the little which I succeeded in accomplishing.

May I add a few closing words about Dr. Paige, who has left us all his debtors for one of the best, if not the best, municipal history ever written? Some of you knew him personally, and others have often seen him upon our streets, about the city hall, and in the banks, where once he had been officially connected. His picture, the frontispiece of the history, is an excellent likeness as he appeared at the time of its publication, and he retained the same appearance, allowing but little for increasing years, to the time of his death, in 1896, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

Dr. Paige was a man of methodical habits, gentle and genial in manner, easily approached, and ever willing to assist others from his store of knowledge and wealth of manuscript. Behind a serious countenance there lurked a quiet humor, in which he liked to indulge when with friends. He was unpretentious, occupying for his home during most of his life the modest dwelling where he died, at the corner of Washington and Pine Streets. He was ever precise in statement, and in all matters showed the same regard for detail as is manifested in his histories. At the age of ninety his writing remained the same legible, bold, and steady hand which characterized it forty years before.

Last week I examined Dr. Paige's will, which is on the files at my court. Leaving an estate of but moderate amount, as measured in these days, the will disposing of it consists of ten closely written

pages, of foolscap size, copied by his own hand in 1888, and supplemented by four codicils, making in all an instrument of nineteen pages. You may imagine what an interesting document it proves to be, illustrating his character of precision, his fulness of detail, his clear and unmistakable direction, and provision for every possible contingency, as likewise his thoughtfulness, charity, and benevolence.

A very limited synopsis of the will is this: First, a very liberal provision is made for his wife, who survived him ten years and is said to have been his first sweetheart; but at the same time he shows that he does not forget those other wives whom she succeeded. In the very fulness of his usual elaborate detail, when mentioning those whom he wishes to lie with him in his lot at Mt. Auburn, for which he provides perpetual care, he calls by their full names all of his four wives in the exact order of their instalment, the clause reading in part, "for the purpose of securing it as a burial place for myself and my present wife, Ann M. Paige, for my deceased wives, Clarinda R. Paige, Abigail R. W. Paige, and Lucy R. Paige," and so on, naming other persons.

After this provision he gives to many relatives and friends specific small bequests, and is most generous to the town of Hardwick, the place of his birth, which town he makes his residuary legatee, leaving to it, after the death of his widow, all his books, manuscripts, and his many articles of historic and other interest, therein specially named, and providing for the erection of a library building to be called after his family name of Paige.

Tufts College, which gave him his degree of D.D. in 1861, receives, in addition to \$5000, which he had before given, \$2000 for a "Paige" scholarship for Divinity students, and, if Hardwick should decline to accept his gift upon the conditions he prescribes, Tufts should have the books, manuscripts, etc. for its college library.

I regret that this Society cannot have what he describes as the "round maple table, which was a part of my mother's outfit when she was married in 1780, and on which was written a large portion of my Commentary on the New Testament and the Histories of Cambridge and Hardwick"; but I was pleased to find that the will discloses the existence of a bust of him, made by Dexter, which is also given to Hardwick. And I venture to suggest that for a com-

paratively small sum, if not a replica, at least a plaster cast, might be made from this, and placed in our own Library, or elsewhere, in some convenient place, where it may be seen and enjoyed by our Cambridge citizens.

For the third topic of the meeting Professor FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER read a paper on :

HISTORY AND THE LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This paper, unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain for publication.

At the conclusion of Professor Turner's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

BEING THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING, being the Seventh Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fourth day of October, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE submitted its Annual Report, as follows :

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FIVE meetings of the Council have been held, the first four at the President's house, 113 Brattle Street, and the fifth at Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

At the first meeting, January 6, 1911, \$75 were appropriated to secure title and possession of the card Index to Paige's History of Cambridge, prepared by members of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and to get a proper copy of the Index, besides the other details to be settled.

At the second meeting, April 6, 1911, the President, Colonel T W. Higginson as Vice-President, and the Secretary were appointed delegates to attend the banquet of The First Volunteers Citizens'

Association, which was held April 17, 1911, at Memorial Hall. Various committees were chosen to arrange for proper shelving of the Society's collection at the Public Library, to consider additions to the membership, and to consider the expediency of an historical exhibit during the ensuing year, while some changes were made in the membership of the standing committees.

At the third meeting, June 1, 1911, the Council voted to have a memorial meeting in honor of the late Thomas Wentworth Higginson (who died at Cambridge, May 9, 1911), to be held December 21, 1911, the evening before the anniversary of his birth, and a committee of five with full power was appointed. Another committee of three was appointed to assist Mrs. Gozzaldi in the preparation for publication of the Index to Paige's History.

At the fourth meeting, October 6, 1911, arrangements were perfected for the Fall Meeting. The President appointed, as a special committee for the memorial to Colonel Higginson, Messrs. Cook, Bailey, Bell, Thayer, and, by request, himself. The Secretary's resignation was received and accepted.

At the fifth meeting, October 24, 1911, was transacted necessary business preliminary to the Annual Meeting of the Society on the same evening.

Three stated meetings of the Society were held: the first in the Cambridge Latin School, the other two in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

At the first meeting, held October 25, 1910, Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi made the first report of the special committee on the descendants from the early settlers of Cambridge. The chief paper of the evening was entitled "The Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist," by Samuel F. Batchelder, Esq., a most interesting and exhaustive paper, disclosing an almost forgotten incident in pre-Revolutionary history.

At the second meeting, held January 24, 1911, the purchase of the Index to Paige's History was reported as accepted by the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. An invitation from Stoughton Bell, Esq., chairman of the Association to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Departure of the First Volunteers from Cambridge to the Front, was received and referred to the Council.

Archibald M. Howe, Esq., read a paper on "The Arsenal at Arsenal Square and the Identification of the Cannon on Cambridge Common," exhibiting photographs.

Mr. Charles K. Bolton, as President of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, gave a clear account of the aims of the Society, producing pictures of important ancient buildings in Europe and other countries.

Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi read a paper giving "Some Account of a Few Old Cambridge Houses."

At the third meeting, held April 25, 1911, a communication from the Park Commissioners stated that they had included in their estimates a sum sufficient to make the necessary repairs on the gun carriages on Cambridge Common, which Mr. Howe had referred to as unfit and dangerous.

The President appointed a committee of three, Mrs. Gozzaldi, Miss Elizabeth Harris, and Mrs. R. H. Dana, on the advisability of having an historical loan exhibit during the coming year.

Rev. Dr. Edward H. Hall read a paper on "The Cambridge Humane Society."

Hon. Charles J. McIntire, Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, referred pleasantly to Mr. Hall as chaplain of his regiment in the Civil War, and read a very interesting address entitled "Why I Started the Index to Paige's History of Cambridge."

Prof. Frederick J. Turner followed, giving the Society suggestions as to the value to our fellow citizens not of Anglo-Saxon origin of local historical research made in all places where men have had their beginnings, in our country and among all races of men, that their history may touch more points than are emphasized when we repeatedly return to Plymouth Rock.

During the year past the Society has lost by death four regular members: Eliza Jane Nesmith Bouton, May 20; William Bullard Durant, October 4; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, May 9; John Taylor Gilman Nichols, August 26.

The Longfellow medal for the best essay upon "Home Life in Longfellow's Poetry" was awarded for the year to Miss Elizabeth Chadwick Beale, a pupil and graduate of Miss Constance B. Williston's School.

As each year passes, our members should become more and more

ready to take active part in the doings of the Society, for they should consider how important any genuine historical work may be that presents the true value of the past to all our citizens, many of whom were born in European countries where the beginnings of America are little known, and thousands of whom have no knowledge of our local history and its relation to the best ideals that are maintained to-day.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

IN the Report of the Council has been included, in conformity with precedent, much material that might consistently form part of the Report of the Secretary. His task has accordingly been lessened and limited in its scope to incidental details of the work of the preceding year.

His chief labor has been the preparation for the printer of the annual volume of Proceedings V. The delay in its preparation has been as unusual as unexpected, one early cause being due to the wish of Mr. Samuel F. Batchelder to obtain for his address on "The Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist" verification and amplification of certain data for which he had been obliged to send again to England. This painstaking attention to details is only one of several distinctions which Mr. Batchelder may justly claim for his address, combining, as it does, exceptional scholarship and research, as shown conspicuously in his elaborate notes and citations, and marked interest and vigor of style.

In the make-up of the new volume of Proceedings it is to be noted that the exhaustion at the Dalton mills of the former issue of paper for the outside cover and the impossibility of exact reproduction have compelled a change of color, that chosen being a delicate bluish gray in place of the older dark olive green. On the score of uniformity for the issue of the whole set of Proceedings this change is a matter of regret, but it has not diminished the attractiveness of the new volume.

Special attention has been given to the development of the part of the Proceedings under the heading Necrology. In this work Mr. William R. Thayer and Mr. Hollis R. Bailey, serving as the

Committee on Memoirs of Deceased Members, were aided chiefly by Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi and the Secretary. The files of the Society's collection contain the original accounts, of which the printed Necrology consists, in most instances, of abstracts. In this field of the activities of the Society there will always be important work to do, for the Society includes in its membership men and women of note in the community, the record of whose lives ought to be written as soon as possible after their deaths, and placed on file for convenient reference at all times.

The award of the Longfellow Prize Medal for the best essay of this year, the topic being "Home Life in Longfellow's Poems," was attended by circumstances of peculiar interest, especially in consideration of the fact that the meeting in Miss Willard's School on Berkeley Street, where the award was made, was the last in which the late Colonel Higginson appeared in public. In his own inimitable manner, which at the same time showed conscious effort, he spoke to the pupils of the school and to a few others present, including several members of the Council of the Society, about his own association with the Longfellow home, in amplification of the topic of the award; and at the end he presented to the winner of the Prize Medal, Miss Elizabeth Chadwick Beale, a mounted group of photographs of the poet taken at different ages, which he had kept by him for many years. Mr. Thayer, as chairman of the Committee on the award of the Prize Medal, presided, and Mr. Dana, as President of the Society, spoke feelingly of the perfect harmony and beauty of the home life of Longfellow, of which the speaker's own intimate relationship with the family gave full knowledge.

As time goes on, the duties devolving upon the Secretary of the Society promise a steady increase; and it behooves the members of the Society as a whole, and the Council in particular, to see to it that the Secretary, whether or not he is to serve voluntarily and without compensation, shall be given all possible aid, through active co-operation of the regular standing committees, and of new committees for special occasions as they may arise.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER

Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 24, 1911

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

THE additions to the collection of the Society have been few. The number of bound volumes is 163, and the increase for the past year 28; the number of pamphlets and unbound issues is 820, and the increase 61. The card catalogue has easily been kept up to date, and the work upon it and upon the last volume of the Proceedings has been done, as before, by Miss Ella S. Wood.

Among the gifts to the Society have been the following: from Archibald M. Howe, Esq., a series of photographs of the Cambridge Arsenal and the cannon on the Common, which he had prepared in connection with his Address for the Society thereupon, and also a number of books and magazines, including a partial set of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, which was made complete, from October, 1892, to June, 1911, vols. 1-19, by a supply of missing numbers from duplicates given by the Cambridge Public Library; from Miss Susanna Willard, 37 manuscript sermons of the Rev. Joseph Willard; and from Mr. George Howland Cox, a framed page of a Vicksburg, Mississippi, newspaper, printed on the back of a piece of wall paper, July 2, 1863.

In the last annual report of the Curator was given an outline of the arrangement of the Society's collection, to which attention is here called. Its location, as now made in part of a spare room on the second floor of the Public Library, is obviously unsatisfactory, but its material can be readily consulted. The lapse of one more year only makes the need of adequate quarters for the collection by so much the more pressing, and opens still wider the opportunity for some generous benefactor to present the Society with a new building, conveniently located and suitably equipped.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER

Curator

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 24, 1911

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1910-1911.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 25 October, 1910		\$228.46
Admission Fees	\$4.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	\$519.00	
Associate Members	18.00	537.00
Commutation of the Annual Dues:		
Two Regular Members	100.00	
Interest	11.18	
Society's Publications sold	4.80	\$656.98
		<u>\$885.44</u>

EXPENDITURES

The University Press, printing bills, etc.	\$9.00	
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices and postal cards	19.50	
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, paper used in printing Publications IV.	28.22	
Hannah Winthrop Chapter D. A. R., card Index of Paige's History of Cambridge	50.00	
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting	10.73	
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting	8.50	
Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service	3.00	
Postage	17.00	\$170.95
Cataloguing the Collections:		
Ella Sites Wood, services	\$33.25	
Library Bureau, index cards	1.50	34.75
General Fund, Commutation Fees received during the year	100.00	
Balance on deposit 20 October, 1911	579.74	
		<u>\$885.44</u>

The unusually large balance of cash on hand is accounted for by the fact that the Committee of Publication has been unavoidably delayed in getting out the Transactions for the past year, hence the bill for this number has not yet been received.

HENRY H. EDES

Treasurer

CAMBRIDGE, October 20, 1911

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I FIND the foregoing account from 25 October, 1910, to 20 October, 1911, to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched.

I have also verified the Cash Balance of \$579.74.

A. McF. DAVIS

Auditor

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year:

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,	MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,	EDWARD HENRY HALL,
FRANK GAYLORD COOK,	ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
RICHARD HENRY DANA,	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,	ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
ARTHUR DRINKWATER,	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.
HENRY HERBERT EDES,	

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
	{ EDWARD HENRY HALL.
	{ ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	ARTHUR DRINKWATER.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

For the first topic of the meeting Rev. GEORGE HODGES, D.D., read the following paper:

MARY HUNTINGTON COOKE

MARY HUNTINGTON COOKE was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1833, on the third day of September. She was married to Professor Josiah Parsons Cooke, in 1860, from the same house in

which she was born. She died on the twenty-first of May, 1911, in her seventy-eighth year.

In a privately printed sketch of the early years of her distinguished brother, Dr. William Reed Huntington, Mrs. Cooke described the character and public service of their father:

"Dr. Elisha Huntington came to Lowell when it was a very small town, about the year 1826. He was a young physician, fresh from the Yale Medical School, and began practice at once. One of the first evidences of his unselfishness, which was one of his main characteristics, was in the very early days of his residence there. A stranger was attacked with virulent smallpox, and as there was no provision in Lowell for such a case, he placed him in a deserted house on the outskirts of the town. No man was willing to go to the sick man, in dread of the disease. Dr. Huntington at once offered his services, and quarantined himself, sharing the man's solitude, and caring for him throughout his sickness.

"His medical services were always very welcome, and he was always ready to give to the poor and afflicted, being singularly indifferent to any compensation for his services; and by his generosity and kindness he won St. Luke's name of the Beloved Physician. He was also President of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

"At the time of his death the whole city was in mourning.

"He rendered great service to Lowell, after it became a city, by serving several terms as mayor, in spite of the encroachment upon his medical work. He gave the city the best of his powers. Whenever it was rent and disturbed by political troubles, the people always turned to him as a last resort. . . . He served as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts with Governor Clifford, and was very much interested in the State Prison work. Those were the days before the Associated Charities and the new views of political economy, and the only thing brought up against him by his enemies when he was candidate for mayor, was that he was too good to the poor. Owing to his life of charity and sacrifice, he died a poor man, leaving behind him a blessed memory."

Occasional references in this tribute of affection reveal the mother as a "gentle and loving spirit," not strong in body, but strong in character, and a constant inspiration to her children. She had the gift of cheerfulness, and never permitted the ills of life to "shadow the sunshine of her nature." In this she was helped by a devout faith. She brought her children with her into the privileges of religion.

Out of this home, where the service of God and of man was taught by continual example, Mary Huntington brought qualities which determined her life. She combined her father's concern for the common welfare with her mother's capacity for happiness. She knew how to take life seriously, but not too seriously. She did good instinctively, and was simply and naturally religious. She had the fine quality which appears in Holy Scripture, and disappears for a long time in the Middle Ages, and at last encounters the disapproval of the Puritans,—the quality of being a saint and of being "merry and joyful" notwithstanding.

Her marriage with Professor Cooke developed all these pleasant virtues. He was not only an eminent man of science, a pioneer of modern chemistry, and one of the glories of Harvard College, but he was "one of the first professors to take a vital interest in the students in a social way." He liked to have them about him. Groups of them came to tea on Sunday evenings, and read and talked with him, and before they went home family prayers were said.

Mrs. Cooke found in Cambridge an association with an old-fashioned name, and a long and honorable history, called the Female Humane Society. Its work of relieving the needs of the poor appealed to her, and she joined it. Its endeavors to supply the distressed with food and coal and clothing seemed to her in line with the philanthropy of her father. She particularly interested herself in that part of the service of the Society which provided sewing for poor women. At the beginning of this enterprise the women had to be taught to sew, and after that instruction had been effectively given the managers still cut out the clothing for them. The women took it home, and brought it back completed, and it was then sold—to the women, if they wished to buy it, at an annual sale opened to all purchasers. With the money from such sales, increased by private subscriptions, the material was provided and the women were paid for their work. They were thus given employment, and were enabled to buy garments at small cost. Every week Mrs. Cooke and her associates spent hours cutting out these garments, and sometimes as many as a hundred women came to take them home.

This work prepared Mrs. Cooke to take an understanding inter-

est in the establishment of the Associated Charities, in 1881, and she became one of the vice-presidents of that organization.

She was made almoner of several charitable funds, which she personally administered. She visited the beneficiaries in their homes, helped them out of their troubles, and gave them not only alms and good advice but sincere friendship, and had their devoted attachment in return. She cared much for the little gifts which some of them sent her at Christmas time, sometimes queer, sometimes pathetic, but always evidences of strong affection.

The Missionary Society of the ladies of the congregation of St. John's Memorial Chapel held its monthly meeting at her house, and she gave to its activities a generous measure of her time and energy.

When her nephew, Dr. Oliver Huntington, started Cloyne School for boys, at Newport, Rhode Island, Mrs. Cooke took a deep and helpful interest in that undertaking. One of her many gifts was an infirmary completely filled with all necessities for the comfort and recovery of sick boys.

She interested herself greatly in the work of the Cambridge Hospital, and at the time of her death was president of its Women's Aid Association.

In 1878, when the first steps were definitely taken towards the establishment of Radcliffe College, Mrs. Cooke was one of the seven ladies who constituted a "committee" to bring the matter to the attention of the public. The others were Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Greenough, Miss Longfellow, Miss Horsford (now Mrs. Farlow), Mrs. Agassiz, and Mrs. Gurney. Her wisdom and vision and counsel contributed to make that experiment an assured and increasing success. She never ceased to concern herself helpfully with its affairs. Into this also she brought that friendly care for the individual which was characteristic of her. She interested herself not only in the College but in the students.

She had a genius for friendship, and a singular memory for the details of people's lives. She remembered anniversaries, and knew the names of children, and kept the domestic affairs of her friends so accurately in mind that she seemed a member of their own family. She was sister and aunt and foster mother to a hundred people.

Thus she lived her useful life, quietly and busily, keeping her left

hand in ignorance of the good deeds of her right, sustained in pain and trouble by the strength of religion, and making the world more pleasant every day for those about her.

For the second topic of the meeting Professor LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON made the following address :

HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE PROPOSED NEW CHARTER FOR CAMBRIDGE

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am afraid I may have to offer the history and meaning of the proposed new Cambridge charter in a somewhat intertwined form ; there will be some " history " and I hope some " meaning." I think possibly, however, they will run along together without confusion.

The history of the Cambridge charter might include the history of the democratic movement in government which has been going on for centuries. But I am sure that I shall have your approval if I skip these centuries and come down at once to the last decade, and even perhaps to the last two years. In the last ten years most significant progress has been made in devising means for improving American city government. The last decade is, in fact, the most interesting one in our history in this respect. It is gratifying to us who love our old Massachusetts traditions that this decade seems to be making effective the hopes and aspirations which we in Massachusetts have held for generations. It is gratifying to be able to reflect that our purposes and ideals have been correct all the time and that defective details in the machinery account in the main for not securing the ends desired. From the experience of the last two decades, and of the last decade particularly, we have learned how to correct some of the worst of these mistakes. This seems particularly clear to me because it falls within the line of my profession, that of an engineer. Our purpose was fine, but defects in details have become evident. What to do seems clear.

These four lines from the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted a century and a third ago, express in a few words, which cannot be bettered to-day, what our purpose was and I believe is still :

“ART. VII. Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.”

But the private interests of various men have found numerous ways to creep in and gain precedence in government — in cities and States and in the nation. They have intrenched themselves in the institutions set up to keep them in check. What was worked out — the checks and balances, and all the rest — was a system which conceivably might work if economic conditions never put temptations in men's way and if various other things were so which are not. But, be that as it may, it is a system which has notoriously failed to produce the desired results, particularly in our cities. One of our chief national causes for disappointment has been the government of our cities, but to-day we think we see pretty good reasons why that failure has occurred. In my opinion, we started by misunderstanding the nature of the city problem. We have been firm in the faith that our form of city government must be in the main correct because it involves the federal form of checks and balances, the Montesquieu fetich, fascination with which was one of the worst of the fathers' errors. Open to grave question as this principle is in general, it is particularly unsuited to city organization. For city government is mainly executive, and efficiency, simplicity, and responsiveness to the public will would seem obviously to be prime requisites. But, unfortunately, as our cities developed, we thoughtlessly applied to them the federal form of government. Results were bad. For decades we contented ourselves by scolding our good citizens because they did not make this old arrangement work. We assumed that if anything of so respectable an origin did not work some *person* must be to blame. We see, however, that something else must be done. We are coming to see that it is but a waste of time and energy trying to beseech and scold our best citizens into jumping to the task of making the venerable system work. It might work, I admit, if everybody were a sort of Columbus for daring, and a St. Thomas for self-abnegation. But our citizens are not all of such a type. Meanwhile the same old system has gone right on doing its harm.

In order to start the American citizen straight on this thing, it

required a physical catastrophe of appalling magnitude. When the waters had subsided from a devastated city, the people of Galveston saw that something both intelligent and radical had to be done. The politicians stepped aside at once. They said, "While ordinary conditions suit our purposes finely, heaven knows there is nothing in this situation for us; we surrender." So there was appointed a commission of five men to succeed them, violating tradition after tradition, and discarding particularly those happy havens for inefficiency and corruption, the double chamber system and divided powers. These results were so good that the neighboring city of Houston said, "Well, if that thing works so well in the wrecked city of Galveston, why can it not work well in a city that is not yet destroyed?" and so they followed suit in Houston, and so it has gone on from those beginnings right through the country. The form of city government which has constantly and persistently been getting American cities into trouble is clearly doomed. We shall doubtless have a wide range of experiments in the search for improvement, but it looks as if it would be pretty hard to get far away from the so-called commission form.

The Galveston charter discarded the old form, root and branch, and put all the powers of the city into the hands of a single board of five responsible persons, elected at large, and thus established concentration of power and responsibility. That was an enormous stride forward. From the point of view of efficiency, it covered the ground. It also attained simplicity.

Now, the spread of this sort of thing throughout the country was greatly hastened by the work of Des Moines. There they retained the simplicity and efficiency of the Galveston form, but added a new, though, for permanently good results, probably indispensable feature, the power of direct popular control of the commission through the Initiative and Referendum and Recall. This gives what should be an effective means of controlling the city business, however the officers may be elected. In Galveston the way it has worked out, the publicity and conspicuousness attending all that these five men do, has been such as to produce admirable results. In Des Moines they not only have all that, but have secured more; they have the Initiative, by which the people can pass a measure over the head of the council; the Referendum, by which the people

can, by popular vote, veto an act of the city council ; and the Recall, whereby the people can remove a commissioner from office before the expiration of his term.

Now, that Des Moines charter was adopted in 1907 and went into effect in 1908. The germination of the seed that was planted in Galveston in 1901 had been comparatively slow ; the growth was bound to come, but other cities were getting the news and beginning to think. The word came to Cambridge and this vicinity largely through President Eliot. He, as some of you will recollect, returning from a trip that he had been making among the Texas cities, told of the marvelous results that had been obtained, principally in Houston. He reported asking one of the commissioners how they could build all those schoolhouses and build all those streets, and all that without a bond issue and with a reduction in the tax rate. The commissioner's reply, " We are getting a dollar's worth of government for each dollar's worth of taxes collected," arrested attention. This kind of news was being carried elsewhere and was taking effect. The spread of the commission form of government then began in earnest, and became so rapid, and is now so rapid, that we do not hope to keep the literature for our charter campaign up to date ; it is changing so fast that I think our latest literature is already somewhat behind the times. This movement progresses in spite of the combined opposition, generally, of the political machines of both parties and of all the other special interests that profit by a bad city government. There are those in a community who like to have the city administration run with a little favoritism here and there, and sometimes with a great deal of favoritism. They naturally make a point of standing in with the political machines of both parties.

Fine as the results had already been, and high as was the perfection in form after the Des Moines contribution, it seemed clear that it would do no harm for us in Cambridge to bide our time for a while. Better things still were likely to develop.

Two years ago, the little city of Grand Junction in Colorado had scarcely been heard of ; but, like many another small place, it was destined to have a marked effect on the thought and practice of men. Two years ago, Grand Junction adopted a new charter of the commission sort, including all the good features of the Des

Moines plan, but introduced a new system of electing officers—an attractive system of preferential voting. This seemed to certain citizens of Cambridge to be the capsheaf, so to speak, of the developing form of city charter. It then looked to them as if energy, experience, and political genius had developed what we might safely assume to be the standard modern form of American city charter. It looked then as if we might assume that the type of construction best adapted for the purpose, so far as our experience would permit it, had been worked out; and the question at once arose, Would it not be a pretty good thing to give the citizens of Cambridge an opportunity to adopt an up-to-date charter of this kind? It was in the fall of 1909 that that form of election was developed and tested. The previous lack of so important an improvement was no doubt the reason why the Cambridge commission charter movement had not developed before. The appearance of preferential voting is, at all events, the main cause for this charter's coming up at this time, and since it is the greatest novelty of the charter, perhaps it will be appropriate for me to devote special attention to it.

There seems to be universal agreement that the proper method of nomination is by non-partisan petition of a moderate number of voters—the number of signatures put as low as possible consistent with decorum. The idea is to give unorganized bodies of voters the least possible difficulty in putting a favorite in nomination. This allows the nominations to be perfectly free and open to any candidate for whom there could be any hope of election. In Los Angeles one hundred signatures secure a nomination; in Spokane, twenty-five; in Des Moines, twenty-five; in Lynn and Haverhill, twenty-five; in fact, twenty-five is the usual figure. This results at once in the nomination of a large number of candidates; then the dilemma to settle is, which candidates should win? Obviously it would not do to let all of these candidates go on the ballot, and leave it in the usual way for a plurality, which might, after all, be only a small fraction of the voters, to decide the issue. Such a decision might or might not be acceptable or endurable to the majority. When a candidate is elected by a minority, nobody knows whether he is on the whole the preference of the majority or not. Mayor Barry, for example, at the last election had less than half the votes cast for mayor. His vote, though a plurality, was a minority,

his two opponents having together more votes than he. The same is true of Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston. He had 47,172 votes; his three opponents together, 48,184. A more striking illustration of the absurdity of the old system occurred in a recent election in Salem, when Mayor Howard was elected by 1800 votes out of a total of 7200. There were five candidates, the vote was close, and 1800 sufficed for a plurality and an election. Nobody knew whether Mayor Howard was the man the citizens of Salem wanted or not. To win by this system one need only to be the favorite of the largest single group or organization. Nothing could be more dangerous. We have hitherto striven against this danger, and by one arbitrary means or another kept the number of nominees low — a practice directly in violation of the cardinal democratic principle of readily secured nominations and a wide choice for the electorate. The excessive number of 5000 signatures required in Boston arose no doubt partly from the fancied necessity of keeping its number of nominees down. Setting the required number of signatures low forced a radical change in practice. The expected, desired, and resulting large number of nominees made it absolutely necessary.

So what they did in Des Moines was to resort to the system of double elections, long familiar in western Europe, — to have two elections instead of one, — a primary and a final election, each requiring an election day. At the primary election the names of all the candidates appear on the ballot, arranged alphabetically or by lot, and each voter puts a cross after the name of his first choice for an office. The two highest candidates then appear on the final ballot some days or weeks later, all the rest having been dropped, and the voters are forced to choose between these two. This is the plurality system, thinly disguised, with a great premium on organization and machine work.

In Grand Junction they said: "What is the use of two elections? Cannot we manage this with one election and do it a great deal more neatly and safely, besides? We will arrange it so that the voter can mark not only his first and second choice for any one office, but as many "other choices" as he likes. This will enable the voter to support every one of perhaps a large number of good candidates, as against the machine or undesirable candidates. It will also destroy largely or entirely the great advantage long en-

BALLOT ILLUSTRATING PREFERENTIAL VOTING

As Embodied in the Proposed New Charter for Cambridge, Mass.

INSTRUCTIONS.— To vote for a candidate make a cross (X) in the appropriate space.

Vote your FIRST choice in the FIRST column.

Vote your SECOND choice in the SECOND column.

Vote ONLY ONE FIRST choice and ONLY ONE SECOND choice for any one office.

Vote in the THIRD column for ALL THE OTHER CANDIDATES whom you wish to support.

DO NOT VOTE MORE THAN ONE CHOICE FOR ONE PERSON, as only one choice will count for any candidate.

If you wrongly mark, tear or deface this ballot, return it and obtain another.

ONE MAN TO BE ELECTED FOR EACH OFFICE

Supervisor of Administration (Mayor)	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Charles E. Hughes			
Champ Clark			
John A. O'Gorman			
Nelson W. Aldrich			
Richard Croker			
Robert L. Owen			
William H. Taft			
Joseph W. Folk			
Robert M. LaFollette			
Woodrow Wilson			
William J. Bryan			
Chauncey M. Depew			
Theodore Roosevelt			
Supervisor of Finance			
Bourke Cockran			
Leslie B. Shaw			
John A. Sullivan			
Nathan Matthews			

Supervisor of Public Works	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Guy C. Emerson			
John Mitchell			
Stephen O'Meara			
Supervisor of Health			
H. W. Wiley			
Supervisor of Public Property			
Gifford Pinchot			
Richard A. Ballinger			

joyed by the machine, and, moreover, eliminate the objection to a large number of candidates."

The sample ballot (page 59) which has been distributed shows how the ballot would actually look.

Now, this method of election not only does away with primaries, but it does a number of things besides. It means that a man may accept nomination for office without there being incumbent upon him the necessity for spending money, without even making a speech if he does not want to. Now we well know that some of the most desirable candidates, particularly for city office, are not speech-makers and cannot or do not wish to spend money, and above all things do not wish to put themselves in the position of having their motives misunderstood or misrepresented, or go out asking for votes. Under this ballot a large number of nominees appear, and it is of no consequence, presumably, that any particular one should win. It is important only that some one of the right type should win. Under the old system the candidate's failure is his party's failure, something supposed by his supporters to bring great disappointment and harm. The new system eliminates that excess of strain and responsibility upon the candidate. No one man is singled out as a target for abuse or mud-slinging, unless, at least, the case against him is pretty strong. In fact, the incentive is the other way. Unnecessary offense to voters whose second or other choice votes, if not first, are being angled for, is obviously to be avoided. In short, it goes a long way toward solving the problem of making standing for office attractive to the right kind of citizens, whom we have found it hitherto hard to attract.

Another thing that this ballot does will be a relief to the much berated element which has ideals, conscientious scruples, and differences of opinion which lead to splits and which handicap them so severely in any effort against unscrupulous solidarity. It enables any body of voters automatically, quietly, and painlessly to get together behind some candidate more or less perfectly representing the general views of that group. It practically eliminates the danger, usually fatal, of a split ticket, avoided readily enough by steam-roller methods of a machine, but not so easily avoided by people with scruples, self-respect, and pride.

Now those who feel hopeful of getting decent city government in this country base their hope on the faith that those who want the city

run right are in the majority, divided usually, however, into hostile camps by party lines based on nothing more important than which of two factions shall hold the city jobs and hand out the city favors. Now, if we can eliminate the false party issue and get the majority of the city together, as has been found possible in other cities, we shall have accomplished a great thing. With this ballot the number of candidates may be large and include plenty of the best of all parties or no party, and in this way somebody satisfactory to the majority is sure to win if there is anybody in the list who is sufficiently well and favorably known to secure the support of the majority; and if there is not, we get the next best thing, and the best possible with that list of nominees; that is, the candidate who among all the others commands the largest following after a free and full expression of choice by the voters. The voter, no longer limited to one choice, no longer has to treat all other acceptable candidates just as he does the most objectionable men in the list. Thus, numerous candidates will no longer split up the votes of a majority and contribute to the election of a plurality man who is earnestly opposed by the majority. With the proposed ballot each voter may vote for as many of the nominees as he likes and a plurality election cannot be obtained in defiance of the wishes of the majority, unless all the candidates are objectionable.

The ballot that has been handed around has on it the names of thirteen candidates for mayor. I will improvise a ballot here to show how the marking is done.

For Mayor	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Smith			X
Doe	X		
Mason			
Sikes			
Roe			X
Asquith			
Jones		X	
Robinson			X

I suppose there is a list of eight candidates as shown. The arrangement of names is, as prescribed by the proposed charter, by lot, and not alphabetically.

The voter's task is this: He notes the name of candidate Doe, whom he prefers on the whole to any of the others. So he votes a first choice for him by putting a cross in the first column after his name. Then, being one of the right kind of citizen, conscientious and devoted to the good of the city, he looks further and notes that there are other good men nominated: that if Doe should not win there would be no calamity. Jones is a good, satisfactory sort of man. He would put him next. So he votes a second choice for Jones by putting a cross in the second column after his name. Then there are Robinson, Smith, and Roe. They are also competent and acceptable men. He does not want to vote against them, and so he votes an "other choice" for each of them by marking for them in the third column. Note that he is not facing the usually impossible task of grading them in the order of his preference. This ballot makes it as easy as possible to vote for all his kind of candidates. There may be only one or two thoroughly objectionable candidates, and they should be thoroughly voted against by all the majority voters supporting *all* the majority type of candidate. The way it is likely to be is this: The boss knows very well that strength in the campaign does not lie in a multiplicity of nominees for the same office, and he therefore will very likely be successful in keeping candidates among his faithful down to one or two. A rival boss or two may put in candidates. The clientèle of such candidates are likely to bullet — to vote for their own men and no others — and split the selfish vote. The grafter is likely to want one candidate and no other, for personal reasons, and so will vote no second or other choices for fear of beating his first choice. The other element are met by no such dilemma. They should mark freely for all good candidates, and their victory is doubly assured — by being probably in a majority anyway, and by facing a factionally and selfishly divided enemy. Here is the opportunity for self-respecting, conscientious persons to get together in such a way as to save the votes of each and every one of them. When the votes are counted, they may find to their surprise, as in Grand Junction, that for the first time

in the memory of men they have won, and deservedly. If you will look at the little slip which has been passed around, you will see how it worked out. The slip runs as follows:

PRACTICAL WORKING OF PREFERENTIAL VOTING

GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO, NOVEMBER 2, 1909

Total number of ballots cast	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,847
Necessary for a majority	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	924

RESULT OF THE VOTES FOR MAYOR

	1st Choice	2d Choice	Other Choices	Combined 1st's and 2d's	Combined 1st's, 2d's, Others
D. W. Aupperle	465	143	145	608	753
* W. H. Bannister	603	93	43	696	739
N. A. Lough	99	231	328	330	658
* E. B. Lutes	41	114	88	155	243
E. M. Slocomb	229	357	326	586	912
Thomas M. Todd (Elected)	362	293	396	655	1,051
	<u>1,799</u>	<u>1,231</u>	<u>1,326</u>		

The two starred candidates for mayor, Bannister and Lutes, represented factions of the reactionary interests against whom the new charter was aimed, the former being the strong candidate of that sort. The progressive opposition was divided and put up four candidates for the place. The situation was much the same as in the first election under the new Boston charter—with the striking difference that out there, Bannister, the Fitzgerald of that situation, did *not* get elected, as the result of the divided opposition, or otherwise. There were 1847 votes cast, and in order to win this election a person must have a majority (924) in first choices; or, failing that, must have the highest number of firsts and seconds combined, provided it is a majority; and failing that, the one getting the highest total of all choices would win. The thoroughly objectionable candidate led in first choices, as was to be expected under the circumstances, and under our Massachusetts way of doing things, he would have been regarded the winner. But, as the figures show, he had only a few over a third of the voters behind him. The vote was nearly two to one against him.

Still I find it very difficult to make Cambridge politicians see why Bannister should not win. They not unnaturally profess to feel outraged that so strong a candidate was not seated. You will see that his opposition of about 1150 voters were simply divided into three or four camps, but, thanks to the form of election, they suffered no penalty and secured a mayor acceptable to them, with two other candidates leading their arch enemy Bannister.

To be more precise at this important point, and at the risk of repeating to a slight extent for the sake of perfect clearness, I wish to add the following few comments on that election.

The starred men were the anti-charter and minority candidates; the others the pro-charter and majority candidates.

Omitting reference to the Grand Junction practice of "dropping the low man," — an unessential complication, not likely to be widely adopted, and without influence on this result, — the decision was drawn from the foregoing figures as follows:

There being no majority in First Choices, the Firsts and Seconds were added together. Then the leading candidate, Bannister, provided he had had a majority, would have won.

There being no majority by combined Firsts and Seconds, the First, Second and Other Choices were added together, and Todd, the candidate then leading, won.

Under the usual system the minority would have beaten the majority and elected Bannister.

Under the Berkeley, Des Moines, Haverhill, or Lynn plan, that of second elections, there would have resulted a bitter contest between Aupperle and Bannister, and a forced choice between two candidates, neither of whom had a majority of the people behind him. Moreover the practical certainty of having to go through such a campaign in order to be elected may well deter most men of the desirable sort from accepting a nomination. Such an ordeal is no legitimate test of fitness for office. It has few terrors for the cheap self-seeker, but does deter the candidates we need. It is one of the great evils of our old style politics from which the system of second elections does not free us, but which the preferential system in great measure, at least, destroys.

One of the features of all our charter meetings is to hold a mock election which shows exactly how this new system of election

works. When this method of voting was first proposed, we used to hear occasional remarks about its being complicated. At the suggestion of a lady much interested in the charter, it was proposed that we make a practice from the start of giving the voters an opportunity actually to vote such a ballot. This had the expected effect. No talk of the ballot being complicated ever comes from a voter who has had a chance to try it. The only opposition left is that readily ascribable to a firm belief that it would actually work as intended. In other words, the opposition is now confined to the machine politicians, and those in their train. Even they make little effort to make it appear that it is complicated.

You will now be given an opportunity to hold such a mock election, using the ballots which have been distributed. One vote in the first column for first choice; one vote in the second column for second choice. You are not compelled to vote against your second and other choices, as under the present system. With only one vote you have to treat all but your first choice—good, bad, and indifferent—alike; and under the new system of nominations there may be a dozen in the running for whom you would be prouder to vote than any that come up under the present system. This ballot enables a voter to vote for all candidates of an acceptable type and against all candidates of other types, and thus, with the direct nomination power, for the first time to express himself satisfactorily at the polls. All this ought to help to arouse interest in politics among those who have lost it, or who, for better reason than they were aware of, never could get interested.

Will you please mark your ballots?

If the ballots are ready and if you will be good enough to pass them to the aisles they will be collected and counted. It will not take very long to produce the results.¹

We observe that the prime reason that the public will has not prevailed in our cities is because selfish interests have succeeded in getting in between the people and their business. Those minor interests generally operate through the political party machine. Now the machine is a necessity under our cumbersome system.

¹ The result of this mock election was soon reached by tellers and announced to the audience. The result was of no permanent value and so is not recorded, but the experiment appeared to give complete satisfaction to the meeting.

The traditional ramshackle form of government could not be run without it. But its largely irresponsible character, its great power, and its need for money make it a tempting mark and in many cases an easy prey for those who find cash returns in making the city government serve their private ends to the injury of the mass of citizens.

To correct this kind of evil the system of nomination above described goes a long way. The elimination of the party label helps also. Together they go far to destroy monopoly of nominations. The preferential ballot strikes at the likelihood of electing such candidates as the machines put on the ballot, and brings into the field against them citizens of a type whom it was perfectly unreasonable to ask to run under the old system.

To back up all this the short ballot principle is introduced. This greatly aids the voter, and still further works against the machine system. The idea on which the short ballot is based is to fill by popular election so few offices and only such important and conspicuous ones as will get and hold the critical interest of the voter. The five supervisors proposed in this charter, in place of the thirty-four now chosen by popular vote to do the same work, fall in with this principle — and this point is much intensified by the fact that they go out of office only one or two per year, leaving only one or two to be elected in any one year, and, including the school committee, only three to four city offices to be filled by the voters in any one year. The ballots as passed around, calling for the filling of all five supervisors at one election, would appear only at the first election under the charter.

Under the proposed charter, five supervisors replace the mayor, board of aldermen, and common council — thirty-four men in all — and have all the executive and legislative powers of the city, save such as are reserved to the school committee and the people themselves, as I will explain later. Any fifty citizens can put on the ballot the name of the candidate acceptable to them, and he accepts the nomination on just as good terms as any body of politicians can confer. There is no party label to float the nominees into power in the face of incompetence, previous obscurity, or bad record.

All this puts the government right into the hands of the people,

with fair hope of success. With men in positions of great publicity, the opportunity to get credit for good work is a powerful incentive. The spirit of this modern democratic movement is that human nature is pretty sure to be sound, but that it should be given at least half a chance. If we put these carefully selected men in a position of power, where the good they do will be appreciated and credited to the right ones, we shall get good results. There is an opportunity for good to be done, some of it long neglected, in any city. Cambridge is no exception.

Then, under the proposed charter, the people themselves are given power, if anything seriously objectionable happens or is threatened, to step in and exert direct control of their business, through the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. These are the best means that have been devised for such emergency work, and they have already done great service in this country and elsewhere. They furnish the means for final and effective control that the public requires for its safety.

Then we provide a reasonably long term for these supervisors, three years, in which a man can learn his business and work out and execute a policy. We propose to pay a salary large enough so that men of the type generally believed to be capable of doing this work could at least live on it. Then, by this system of elections, by which a man can take a nomination with a minimum of risk to peace of mind, pocket, or reputation, we could hope to get the right kind of man into office. We have given them great power to do desirable things, and the least possible power to do undesirable things. We have arranged it so that credit would go to whom credit is due. We have arranged it so that the government and the citizens shall be in the closest possible relations, so that citizens with right purposes can be of the greatest possible effectiveness with the least possible sacrifice. This will train the citizens to increasing efficiency, and make good results permanent, and in large degree self-sustaining.

In this charter we have brought together all the best features of work of the last decade of American city charter making, carefully adapted to Cambridge and Massachusetts conditions.

We have in this charter these characteristics which have been productive of nothing but success so far in this country, and it is

believed that they are sound principles, namely, simplicity, concentration of authority and responsibility, and responsiveness to the public will.

At this point it seems appropriate to record the names of the four others included with the speaker in the group of five who took it upon themselves to prepare the original draft of the charter and introduce it into the legislature in the session of 1910. They were Lawrence G. Brooks, Arthur N. Holcombe, John R. Nichols, and Russell A. Wood. F. Lowell Kennedy also gave the work cordial and important encouragement from the start, and appeared as one of the petitioners for the bills in the legislature. Messrs. Holcombe and Nichols, not at that time registered voters in Cambridge though since having become such, did not appear in the list of these four petitioners. Of course, many others, too numerous to mention here, and generally included in published lists of committees of the Charter Association, helped with encouragement and suggestions of the greatest value, but out of this long list no one who knows the high quality and great extent of his unheralded assistance as counselor and executive will grudge a special record here of the name of Reginald Mott Hull.

Now, as an illustration of how charters of this kind actually operate, the experience in Spokane may interest you. There is a city the size of Cambridge, with five offices to fill, each office with a four-year term, each with a five-thousand-dollar salary, requiring for nomination only twenty-five signatures. The result was ninety-two candidates for five offices, offering an adequate range of choice to the voters. The number of votes cast was 22,058; 7000 women had registered in the few months that had elapsed since their enfranchisement by the state. This was their first election of any kind, and the first experience of the men with this kind of ballot. There was no difficulty and no confusion. Of those ninety-two candidates, the five men who won had none of them held an elective city office. The politicians were down and out. The citizens for the first time in their history had a chance at something different and seized upon it. The highest man, Robert Fairley, got a majority of first-choice votes. He was the only one who did. Moreover, he had the support in first, second, or other choices of three quarters of the voters in the city. He had become widely

and favorably known as an appointive city officer. He had long served as city comptroller.

The four men next in favor were as follows:

No. 2 in popular choice, W. J. Hindley, was a leading Congregational clergyman. He had never been in public life before except as a leader in the single tax movement, and an active, virile defender of civic righteousness generally. A fine orator, and widely respected.

The next man, C. M. Fassett, was the President of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, one of the most successful and most respected business men of the Northwest, like Mr. Hindley, a single-taxer. He was elected during his absence from the city, indicating a kind of politics we have not yet enjoyed in this part of the country. He took no part in the campaign beyond signing his acceptance of the nomination, and writing two or three letters home which were published in the local papers.

The next, D. C. Coates, had been a leader in the charter campaign, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Colorado, member of a typographical union, a socialist who had won the respect and confidence of former opponents and of the public generally.

The fifth, L. A. Hayden, was a prominent lumberman, a very successful man of high ideals.

None of these four, by the way, was then sufficiently widely known to secure the votes of a majority, even upon the addition of first, second, and other choices.

The correspondent who furnished me the foregoing information was careful to point out that they were not only men of responsibility and standing, but they were men of high civic spirit, interested in the public good. Those five men were chosen, and the people were delighted not only with the result, but with the high tone of the campaign.

You do not strike a politician until you get to No. 13. Not only the first five, but the first twelve names in the list were names of people who had never been in elective office; they were men, successful in business and ordinary vocations, of a type quite different from the ordinary politician. The ex-mayor, the man who was mayor when the charter was adopted, was a man against whom little or nothing could be said, but he was a member of the old

regime and came in no better than thirteenth. No. 17 was the next of a similar type, and so on down. The fact remains that Spokane has had an entire change in the rules, and they are very pleased with it.

We may take a little satisfaction here in Cambridge from the fact that they adopted this preferential ballot in Spokane very largely because they knew it had obtained such favor here in Cambridge; it is very gratifying to me to feel that we here in Cambridge have helped teach the Pacific Slope progressivism. They simply worked out the charter and voted on it and got it into operation in a total campaign of six months. But there they require no action by the legislature for such a step. They have home rule for cities.

Here in Cambridge we mean that these five supervisors shall be elected to specific office. Each candidate knows what office he is to fill, and the voter knows to what office he is electing him. This is no attempt to elect experts, but to secure men interested in their departments, with a taste for their work, and in a position of responsibility to the voters for its execution. This is worth a moment's notice, for it is a somewhat new idea, but likely to gain in favor. Grand Junction, Lynn, and Oklahoma City already enjoy this system, and Haverhill's experience with the more usual system led Lynn to take the step. The usual practice has been to nominate the men and elect five of them merely to the council at random to parcel out the work among themselves as best they may—a practice tending to irresponsibility and inefficiency unless exceptional men are put in power.

Now, having devoted so much time to the history and contents of the proposed new charter for Cambridge, it becomes an easy and short task, in closing, to point out its meaning.

It opens the brightest opportunity we have ever had in this city for an actual realization of the principles laid down a century and a third ago in this city, on the soil of this University, by a graduate of this University, John Adams, and ratified by the people of this Commonwealth as the foundation of their organic law, namely:

“All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. . . .

“In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments. . . .

“Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.”

These are principles as impregnable to-day as when they were written. In fact, I think it may be said that their violation, particularly the violation of the last sentence quoted, is the cause in a nutshell of our political and economic troubles. I think we need no new doctrine, only effective ways to get the old doctrine into effect. To get the full result desired we must, in these later days, add two things, — more effective means for the use of the people in asserting their supremacy, and more favorable conditions for the development of the right leadership. The people must have more power to do with, and more knowledge what to do against those who would pervert government to the profit of some one man or set of men. This charter, I consider, includes as complete a list as is to-day practicable of what the people must have to secure the requisite power. The existence of this power, within the reach of all the citizens, will foster and develop the leadership, if anything will, — our great educational system, and the memory and example of the unselfish leaders of the past greatly assisting.

The nine striking features of the charter which, I believe, will operate so powerfully to bring into effect the purposes of our Massachusetts Bill of Rights are :

1. Direct and Easy Nominations, without regard to ward lines : to check party domination and give voters wide choice.
2. Short Ballot : to permit easy and intelligent voting.
3. Preferential Voting : to eliminate primaries, to encourage competent men to stand for office, and to permit a real choice from a large number of candidates, with minimum cost and effort.
4. Long Term and Adequate Salary : to render public office acceptable to competent men.
5. Small, compact Council with large powers, combining the executive and legislative functions : to secure efficiency.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 6. Publicity | } | to permit effective control of city affairs by
the voters. |
| 7. The Initiative | | |
| 8. The Referendum | | |
| 9. The Recall | | |

This list, if supplemented by two other items, would include about the whole that has been accomplished since the adoption of the constitution of this Commonwealth in the way of improved governmental machinery and practices, and little in this list dates in this country at least from before the last decade.

The two items which I have not mentioned and which it is a particular pleasure to mention here in this presence — in the presence of your President, Mr. Dana, who has so efficiently led in their adoption — are the merit system and the Australian ballot, and without the latter, at least, this charter could not have come to pass.

More still must be done to complete this kind of work in State and nation, and various corrupting economic fallacies and abuses must be eliminated from our thought and life before we can secure permanent security and peace, but, whatever form such work may take, I believe it is bound to be part and parcel with this charter in attempting to establish a government "for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men."

At the conclusion of Professor Johnson's paper the meeting adjourned.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 26, 1910 — October 24, 1911

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
CAMBRIDGE, CITY OF	Address of the Mayor of Cambridge, with the Annual Reports, 1908-1910. 2 v.
CAMBRIDGE, PUBLIC LIBRARY .	{ Harvard Graduates' Magazine, missing nos. (see below, under Howe, A. M.) Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1809-1909: works of Holmes. From the Cambridge Public Library Bulletin
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Annual Report, Oct. 31, 1910
COX, GEORGE HOWLAND . . .	[Framed] Page of Vicksburg Newspaper, printed on back of wall paper, July 2, 1863
DANA, RICHARD HENRY, 3D . .	Speeches in Stirring Times, and Letters to a Son, by R. H. Dana Jr., 1910
GOZZALDI, MRS. MARY ISABELLA	Souvenir Postals (2) of the Cooper-Austin and the Stone Houses
HOLMES, JOHN ALBERT	Typewritten Manuscripts (2), on the Estate of Ebenezer Frost on Menotomy Road, and Elder Edmund Frost — his Homestall
HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY . .	Blue Book of Cambridge, 1908 Harvard Graduates' Magazine, Vols. I-XIX, Oct., 1892-June, 1911, partial set (complete from above) Historical Sketches of some Members of the Lawrence Family. 1888 John Wilson, by Frank E. Bradish

*Donor.**Description.*

	Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636-1895
	Who's Who in America, 1908-1909
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY	Collections, Vols. VI-VII. 2 v.
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. II, No. 4, Jan., 1910
LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Papers read, Vol. XIV, No. 4, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-7, Oct., 1910-Sept., 1911
LANE, WILLIAM C.	An Old-Time Society [The Cambridge Humane Society], by Arthur Gilman
	Two Civilizations: an Oration, by J. A. Fox
LEOMINSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Exercises at the Unveiling of the Boulder marking the Site of the First House erected in Leominster, 1725
LOWELL HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Contributions, Vol. I, No. I, July, 1911
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, Oct., 1909-June, 1910
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Letters of Dennys De Berdt, 1757-1770. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
	A Sacrament Certificate, 1673. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
	Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historical Register, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, January and April, 1911
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY	New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1910-1911

<i>Donor.</i>	<i>Description.</i>
NORTON, RUPERT	Cambridge Epitaphs
OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Quarterly, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3-4, Vol. XX, Nos. 1-3, July, 1910-July, 1911
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Historia, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, March 15 and Dec. 20, 1910
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 4, Vol. XII, No. 1, Dec., 1910-March, 1911
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY	Year Book, 1911
SAUNDERS, MISS MARY	Seven Pictures
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO	Review of Historical Publications Re- lating to Canada, Vols. XIV and XV, 1909-1910
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT AND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE	Catalogue, 1910-1911
VINELAND HISTORICAL AND AN- TIQUARIAN SOCIETY	New Jersey Annual Report, Oct. 11, 1910
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-4, 1911
WILLARD, MISS SUSANNA	Address to the Members of the Bar of Worcester County, Massachu- setts, Oct. 2, 1829, by Joseph Willard John Bartlett. From the Proceed- ings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XLI Naturalization in the American Col- onies, by Joseph Willard. 1859 Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and Eulogy, by Professor Webber, at the Funeral of the Rev. Joseph Willard, with a Sermon by the Rev. Mr. Holmes Story of a Concord Farm and its Owners [Thirty-seven Manuscript Sermons] by Rev. Joseph Willard

NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches, of which most of the following are abstracts, are kept on file in the Society's collection.

REGULAR MEMBERS

BOUTON, MRS. ELIZA JANE, died at Cambridge, May 20, 1911. She was born at Lowell, Mass., August 19, 1836, the oldest child of the Hon. John Nesmith, of Lowell, Mass., and Eliza Thom (Bell) Nesmith. Her mother was the daughter of John Bell, who was Governor of New Hampshire. Her early years were spent in Lowell, where her father was a man of wealth and prominence. She was educated at Bradford Academy. She married, December 4, 1873, John Bell Bouton, then of New York, who was also a grandson of Governor John Bell. Mr. Bouton was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and was one of the editors and owners of the "New York Journal of Commerce." For many years Mr. and Mrs. Bouton lived in New York, and at East Orange, N. J. In 1889 Mr. Bouton retired from business, and they came to Cambridge to live, and thereafter made it their home, though spending much of their time in foreign travel. Mr. Bouton died November 18, 1902. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bouton were intensely patriotic. Mr. Bouton was the author of a number of books, but the one in which they both took an especial interest was entitled "Uncle Sam's Bible." Mrs. Bouton possessed much literary ability and was much interested in art and literature as well as in public affairs. She was fond of travel. She was a charter member of the Society of Colonial Dames of New Hampshire, and a charter member of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Massachusetts. She wrote patriotic odes for each of these societies and was much interested in their work. She was a Unitarian in religion, and was active in the work of the Unitarian Church at East Orange.

DURANT, HON. WILLIAM BULLARD, died in Cambridge, October 4, 1911. He was born in Barre, Mass., September 29, 1844, the son of Rev. Amos Bullard and Mary Ann Durant. He graduated at Harvard in 1865, received the degree of A.M. in 1868, and in 1869 received the

degree of LL.B., from the Harvard Law School. He was actively engaged in the practice of the law until his death, having his office in Boston. In 1879 he married Caroline B. Aldrich, daughter of Judge P. B. Aldrich, of Worcester. She and three sons, Aldrich, Henry W., and William B., survive him. Soon after finishing his education he changed his name to William Bullard Durant. In 1880 and 1881 he was a member of the Cambridge Common Council. From 1890 to 1892 he was a member of the House of Representatives and was a State Senator in 1894 and 1896. From 1899 to 1906 he served as President of the Cambridge Water Board. At the time of his death he was a Director of the Charles River National Bank and a Trustee of the Cambridge Savings Bank. He was a regular attendant at the Shepard Congregational Church.

HALL, the REV. EDWARD HENRY, died in Cambridge, February 22, 1912. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Edward Brooks Hall and Harriet (Ware) Hall, and was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831. He fitted for college at the High School in Providence, R. I., where his father was settled for more than thirty years as the pastor of the Unitarian Church. He graduated from Harvard with the Class of 1851. He attended the Harvard Divinity School, where he graduated in 1855. In 1902 Harvard conferred on him the degree of S.T.D. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and served as a member of its Council for two years following the annual meeting of 1907. He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society and a member and councillor of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Dr. Hall held three pastorates over Unitarian churches—the first at Plymouth, the next at Worcester, and the last in Cambridge. He was installed as minister of the First Parish and First Church in Cambridge (Unitarian), March 30, 1882. He resigned his pastorate March 31, 1893.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH, died in Cambridge, May 9, 1911. He was born in Cambridge, December 22, 1823. He graduated from Harvard in 1841, and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1847. He married, September 30, 1847, Mary Elizabeth Channing, daughter of Dr. Walter Channing. She died September 2, 1877, at Newport, R. I. In 1847 he became the pastor of the First Religious Society at Newburyport, then ostensibly Unitarian, and remained as such for over two years. While at Newburyport he became an anti-slavery candidate for Congress. From 1852 to 1858 he was in charge of the Worcester Free

Church. In 1854 he was indicted, with Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and others, in connection with the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave. November 10, 1862, he became Colonel of the First South Carolina Volunteers, afterwards the Thirty-third United States colored troops. He was wounded and disabled, July 10, 1863, and resigned in October, 1864. In February, 1879, he married Mary P. Thacher and settled in Cambridge. He was President of the Colonial Club, and his portrait hangs in its club house. He served in the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1880 and again in 1881. For three years he was a member of the State Board of Education. For seven years he served as state military and naval historian. He was honored by the Western Reserve and by Harvard University with the degree of LL.D. He was President of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He was Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Canada, Member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His wife and daughter, Mrs. Margaret W. Barney, survive him. For a fuller account of Mr. Higginson, see the report of the meeting held in Sanders Theatre, which will appear in Vol. VII of the Proceedings of this Society.

NICHOLS, DR. JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN, died at Little Boar's Head, N. H., August 25, 1911. He was born in Portland, Me., August 11, 1837, the eldest son of Dr. George Henry Nichols and Sarah (Atherton) Nichols. His early years were spent at Standish, Me. He graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1859, being one of those selected to read his thesis at the graduating exercises. Dr. Nichols settled in Cambridge in 1859 and continued a resident until his death. He married, October 2, 1867, Helen Williams Gilman, daughter of Dr. John Taylor Gilman of Portland, Me., and Helen Augusta, his wife, daughter of Hon. Renel Williams of Augusta, Me. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the First Parish in Cambridge, and was Chairman of the Committee from 1887 to 1902. He was a visiting physician at the Cambridge Hospital from 1884 until 1903. He was President of the Cambridge Savings Bank from 1904 to 1911. His wife and two of his children survive him. For a fuller account of Dr. Nichols, see the paper read by Mr. Oscar F. Allen, which will appear in Vol. VII of the Proceedings of this Society.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1911-1912

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS
	{ EDWARD HENRY HALL
	{ ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE
<i>Secretary</i>	ARTHUR DRINKWATER
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER	HENRY HERBERT EDES
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY	MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI
FRANK GAYLORD COOK	EDWARD HENRY HALL
RICHARD HENRY DANA	ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
ARTHUR DRINKWATER	ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	

COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1911-1912

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,
EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

On Publication.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,
MARY HELEN DEANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY
ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA
ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS
ALLEN, MARY WARE
ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE
ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE
ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE
AUBIN, HELEN WARNER
AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS
AYER, CLARENCE WALTER

BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL
BAILEY, MARY PERSIS
BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS
BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT
BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER
BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR
BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS
BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY
BELL, STOUGHTON
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON
BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA
BLAKE, JAMES HENRY
BLISH, ARIADNE
BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL
*BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH
BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES
BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHING-
HAM
BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN
BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE
BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS

BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN
BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREE-
MAN

CARRUTH, ANNA KENT
CARRUTH, CHARLES THEO-
DORE
CARY, EMMA FORBES
CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
COES, MARY
COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
COOK, FRANK GAYLORD
CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
COX, GEORGE HOWLAND
CROTHERS, SAMUEL McCHORD
CUTTER, WATSON GRANT

DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBER-
FORCE
DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH
LONGFELLOW
DANA, RICHARD HENRY
DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND
DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
DEANE, MARY HELEN
DEANE, WALTER
DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
DREW, EDWARD BANGS
DRINKWATER, ARTHUR
DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON

* Deceased.

*DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD
DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
EDES, HENRY HERBERT
ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
EMERTON, EPHRAIM
EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
FISKE, ETHEL
FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
FORD, LILIAN FISK
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUN-
CEY

FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
FOX, JABEZ
FOXCROFT, FRANK

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL
HALL, EDWARD HENRY
HALL, WILLIAM STICKNEY
HARRIS, ELIZABETH
HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL

*HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENT-
WORTH

HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS
HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
HODGES, GEORGE
HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON

HORSFORD, KATHARINE
HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING
HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN
HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY
HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIX-
WELL

HOWE, CLARA
HUBBARD, PHINEAS

IRWIN, AGNES

JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY
KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK
KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON
KIERNAN, THOMAS J.

LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY
LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE
LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY
LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
PREBLE

LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
MCDUFFIE, JOHN
MCINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
MCKENZIE, ALEXANDER
MELLEDGE, ROBERT JOB
MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
MORISON, ANNE THERESA
MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
MUNROE, EMMA FRANCES
MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

*NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN
NORTON, GRACE

* Deceased.

NORTON, MARGARET
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINÉ, JAMES LEONARD
 PAINE, MARY WOOLSON
 PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH
 PARLIN, FRANK EDSON
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
 §PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS
 PERRIN, FRANKLIN
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
 PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY
 PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN

RAND, HARRY SEATON
 READ, ELISE WELCH
 READ, JOHN
 READ, WILLIAM
 REARDON, EDMUND
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
 ROPES, JAMES HARDY
 RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS
 SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTING-
 TON
 SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
 SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
 SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
 SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
 SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
 SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
 STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
 STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
 STORER, SARAH FRANCIS

TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
 THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
 THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
 TICKNOR, FLORENCE
 TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
 TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOP-
 KINS
 TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
 NOYES
 TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY
 TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
 VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN

WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
 WALCOTT, ROBERT
 WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL
 WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD
 §WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE
 LOCKE
 WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT
 WESSELHOEFT, WALTER
 WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
 WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEW-
 ART
 WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICH-
 ARDSON
 WILLARD, SUSANNA
 WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
 WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
 WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
 WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
 WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
 WYMAN, MORRILL

YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

§ Resigned.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN	LOVERING, ERNEST
FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY	§NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREAD-
FARLEY	WELL
WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED	

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

§ Resigned.

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be : Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

